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✓ THE *71991*
HISTORY
OF *75*
MODERN GREECE,

FROM ITS CONQUEST BY THE ROMANS B.C. 146,
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY JAMES EMERSON, ESQ.
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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480.

P R E F A C E.

IN the composition of the following pages it has been my object to supply information, so far as it was possible, regarding those later events in the history of Greece, of which our accounts have hitherto been imperfect and unsatisfactory. With this view I have passed rapidly over the era which has been treated of by former writers, and confined my attention principally to the period subsequent to the reign of Justinian, during which the annals of the country have been almost totally neglected. From the sixth till the twelfth century we have, in fact, no memorials of Greece, save the casual notices of the Byzantine historians, and these are generally of so vague and unim-

portant a nature as scarcely to repay the industry of their investigators. With the crusades, however, and the expeditions of the French barons, a new era commences, of which sufficiently ample details have been left to us ; and as these latter, on the division of the empire in A.D. 1204, took possession of the territory of Greece, their chroniclers, in recording their exploits, have given a fresh interest to the neglected scenes of which they write. From this epoch down to the Ottoman conquest, materials for the history of Greece are to be had in abundance amongst the annalists of Venice and Constantinople, and it is only remarkable that they have not hitherto been compiled in some digested form.

I fear, that in speaking of the Latin dynasty and the numerous petty sovereignties into which Greece was then divided, my statements may be found deficient in that clearness and concision which I would wish to have preserved ; but the difficulty will at once be perceived of reducing to any tolerable order the mass of incidents with which the narrative is encumbered, and tracing the

descents of the various petty chieftainries with precision till their final extinction. I was obliged to choose between absolutely meagre mention and the danger of overloaded detail; I preferred running the risk of the latter, and how far I have avoided it, must depend on the patience of the reader.

To prevent confusion, and at the same time facilitate inquiry, I have separated the purely historical portion of the subject from that which refers more directly to the intellectual condition and progress of the Greeks. With regard to the chapter which treats of their political situation under the Ottomans, I would observe, that I have given its details rather in their legal than their virtual form, and that the tyranny of the Turks, though professing universally the same character, varied considerably in the several districts. In some its frightful licences were overstepped by the constituted authorities; whilst in others, more particularly in the Morea, its rigour, especially during the present century, was considerably relaxed. In like manner throughout the islands, whilst the majority of those on the Asiatic coast

were groaning under all the misery of oppression, the Hydriots, Spezziots, and others similarly situated, enjoyed remarkable freedom; and I have myself heard the former exclaim with regret, that previously to the late insurrection every merchant amongst them was "a Count," but that now all were beggars.

In support of this I shall insert some extracts from a letter, which I received some time ago, from a gentleman whose opportunities of observation were more than ordinarily favourable, and whose assertions are entitled to every confidence, Mr. Philip Green, late His Majesty's Consul for the Morea.

"It is a fact, which I can vouch for," says he, "that during the three years and a half of my official residence in the Morea, previously to the breaking out of the Greek revolution, only two executions took place within the pachalic, and these at the seat of government, being of Greeks convicted of robbery and various outrages.

"The power of life and death was vested exclusively in the Pacha of the province; but

the Vaivodes of districts could punish minor offences by imprisonment, fine, or the bastinado. It is true that the administration of justice was so open to corruption, that in cases which merited capital punishment, the culprit, whether Turk or Greek, generally found means, by sacrificing part of his property, to persuade the Pacha, Cadi, or Vaivode, that he was innocent, or at most that his offence only called for a trifling punishment; but I can assert, that in cases where Turks had been found guilty of offences, no partiality or different mode of treatment was adopted from that generally in use.

“I had heard much of the overbearing arrogance and tyrannical conduct of the Turks towards the Greeks; in the Morea, most assuredly, this evil did not exist to any extent, and in cases where wanton insult had taken place, it generally proved to have been given by some Turk on his journey through the country. Indeed, the generality of Turks born and residing in the Morea appeared to possess much more of the character of the Greek than that of their own nation, and in most instances

could neither speak, read, nor write their own language, having adopted the modern Greek. * * * *

“Continental Greece was undoubtedly increasing rapidly in cultivation and wealth ; the town of Patras, from its favourable position and being the residence of the foreign consuls, had become not only the chief trading port of the Peninsula, but also the entrepôt of Greece. The principal part of the commerce with Europe was carried on by Greek merchants, many of whom had amassed great wealth ; and two-thirds at least of the valuable currant and olive plantations, and other landed property, belonged to them.

* * * *

“For several years preceding the revolution no military force had been quartered in the Morea, with the exception of the Pacha’s body-guard at Tripolizza, a few Albanian mercenaries in some of the towns, who constituted the police, and those stationed to guard the defiles. The fortified towns possessed no other garrisons than what was afforded by their Turkish population. The fortresses were for the most part

in a ruinous state, and apparently the most perfect security prevailed on the part of the Turks. Two years previously to the revolution an order was issued from Constantinople for the general repair of all the fortresses in the Morea, and some inspecting officers were sent for that purpose, but whether from want of funds or other causes the order, with one or two exceptions, was never carried into effect.

* * * *

“In respect to religious toleration I have no hesitation in asserting, that as far as my personal observation went, the Moreot Greeks uninterruptedly enjoyed the exercise of their faith; the only prohibition I am aware of was that of the use of church bells. At Patras and the other principal towns in the Morea, the number of Greek churches far exceeded that of Turkish mosques, in proportion to the resident professors of the two faiths, and in the villages the former only were to be found.

“The most extraordinary accounts have been circulated, and, in many instances, believed, respecting the constant endeavours

of the Turks to convert the Greeks or other Christians to their faith. On this subject, I consider it most important to state, that during the whole period of my residence in Greece I do not recollect having heard of a single attempt of the kind having been made ; and I was assured that in those very few instances where Greeks had apostatized, it had been entirely their own act. Indeed, it is a well known fact, and one which I perfectly remember, that where persons who had apostatized appeared in public, the finger of scorn was pointed at them, not only by Christians, but by Turks."

The preceding remarks will serve to corroborate an opinion which I have elsewhere advanced, that the Greek revolution was produced not so much by the immediate stimulus of actual suffering as by the spirit of indignant independence engendered by education and advancing intelligence. In every spot, in fact, where commerce had been successfully pursued, and this, as Mr. Green observes, was extensively the case, the population had been enabled to *purchase* immunities from the galling restrictions imposed upon less fa-

voured districts ; and, taking into consideration the rapidly improving civilization of the Greeks, and the declining, or at least stationary power of Turkey, it is by no means unreasonable to suppose that in the course of another century, even without the convulsion of a revolution, Greece might have become gradually, and almost insensibly, *free*.

I would be very far, however, from urging this as an argument against the policy of the late insurrection ; oppression, however modified, should never be tolerated by an individual of a nation longer than till they are sensible that by a vigorous effort it can be overthrown ; nor would any but a madman permit a fever slowly to exhaust itself whilst he possessed a safe and certain remedy by which at once to check its fierceness. The evils of slavery, like those of the thousand other ills adherent to humanity, consist not merely in its outward effects, which can be particularized and described, but in its silent and unseen operation upon the mind of its victim. In whatever form it may be found, or in whatever sphere, from the domestic tyrant to the throned despot,

it acts with the same debasing though perhaps invisible influence, undermining the dignity of manhood, destroying the self-respect of nations not less than of individuals, and blasting, like the simoom, with an unseen but withering breath. Of the six millions of Roman Catholics lately emancipated in Ireland, not one thousand, perhaps, could be found who could distinctly point out a direct instance of suffering from the penal enactments under which they laboured—but it would be equally impossible to discover one who had not an inward consciousness of some undefined yet sensible injury which they inflicted, and a feeling that his dignity in his own eyes, not less than his consideration in those of others, was diminished,

*Ἡμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνονται εὐρύπα Ζεὺς
Ἀνὴρος, πῦρ' ἄν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἥμαρ ἔλγσιν.**

It is on these deep and secret feelings of the heart that the influence of enlightenment first begins to operate, and whatever be the uttered plea of revolt, the first resistant feeling of the slave springs from the contempt with which he is compelled to regard himself.

* *Odys.* xvii. l. 321.

In the remaining chapters, on the moral and literary character of the Greeks, I have likewise to claim indulgence. My own limits not permitting me to enter more minutely into the several discussions which are introduced, I have studied here, as indeed in every other instance, to give the most ample references to my authorities, so as to enable the reader, if requisite, to pursue the investigation further. In a work such as the present, where the subject is somewhat new, I have frequently felt a difficulty in ascertaining the proper quarters in which to search for materials, and although in its execution I cannot congratulate myself with M. Pouqueville on "*débrouillant le chaos qui couvre l'antique Hellade*,"* still I shall be content if in an humbler capacity I have rendered a service to the future inquirer, by at least pointing out those sources to which he may turn for information.

It would have swelled the work to an unwarrantable size, had I introduced minute details of the history of insulated spots, which, though highly interesting in them-

* *Voyage de la Grèce*, Vol. i. Introduction, p. v.

selves, were subordinate and often unconnected with the general history of Greece. I have thus omitted, for the present, all, save a casual notice of Rhodes, Cyprus, Candia,* and other points of equal importance, which I would hope at some future period to include, should the reception of

* Of the island of Rhodes, one of the most complete descriptions is that of Coronelli, published at Venice in 1688. *Isola di Rodi geografica-storica antica e moderna, già posseduta da Cavalieri Hospitalieri di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme coll' e altre adjacente*. More modern topographical and statistical accounts exist in abundance, and its historical details will be found in *The Siege of the noble and inuincible Cytee of Rhodes*, a folio whose typography is attributed to Caxton; Canoersin's *Obsidionis Rhodiæ Urbis Descriptio*. Basil, 1556. 4to.; Fontanus *De Bello Rhodio*; an Epistle by an author of the same name, *de Rhodi Expugnatione*; and in the various Histories of the Order of St. John, by Pantaleon, Bosius, Bois-sat, Baudouin, Amico, Vertot, Paul Paciaudi, &c. &c.

Information regarding Cyprus is almost equally copious and interesting. One of the most successful chroniclers is Ferdinando Herera, to whose work, *Relacion de la guerra de Cypre*, I have alluded in one of the following chapters (vol. I. chap. vi. p. 187). More ample materials are contained in the several Histories of Bizarus, Arrighi, Guarnerius, and Gratiani *de Bello Cyprio*; in Ralph Carr's *Mahometane, or Turkish Historie*; Assarino's *Raguagli del Regno di Cipro*; Giblet's *Histoire des Rois de Chypre*; Midgley's *War of Cyprus*; and the volumes of Knolles, Paruta, and the various other annalists of Turkey and Venice.

The celebrated Siege of Candia has employed the pens of a like number of historians, and is copiously detailed in the Memoirs and Journals of Gailhard, Savignien, d'Alquie, de la Fueillade, de la Guilletiere, and the Marquis de Ville.

the present volumes warrant the experiment. And here I may likewise mention that in using the term "Greece," I have not confined myself strictly to the ancient Hellas, but have likewise included Macedonia, Pæonia, and a portion of Thrace.

I have alluded in another place to the impossibility of ascertaining with accuracy the statistics of any portion of the Ottoman empire; I have therefore chosen rather to refer the reader, for such documents, to sources equally accessible to him with myself, than to offer calculations which must in the end be based on conjecture. For the same reason I have forborne any attempt to reconcile the jarring reports of travellers on the character of the Modern Greeks, convinced that a more equitable estimate will be formed from a faithful detail of their exploits than from the partial observation of individuals, which must generally be hasty, and often biassed by sympathy or prejudice.

I should, perhaps, apologize for using indiscriminately the ancient and modern names of places, but as late events have rendered them almost equally familiar, the irregularity can scarcely be productive of confu-

sion. I would, however, require a greater indulgence for occasional variation in the orthography of the same term, but as we have in reality no authorized standard for Turkish words beyond their pronunciation, and as they are seldom written by two authors alike, I have found it impossible, with the utmost vigilance, to prevent discrepancies. I have likewise throughout the work spoken of Greece as distinct from the rest of Europe, a solecism warranted by the custom of the Greeks themselves, and rendered necessary, in some degree, in order to identify the country with the Turkish policy.

Belfast, September 1, 1830.

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S K E T C H
OF THE
GREEK REVOLUTION.*

AMONGST the individuals who had suffered most severely from the cruelty of Ali Pacha, was a member of his own family, Ismael Pachó Bey, whom he had banished from Joannina in 1807, and continued for many years to persecute with the most unrelenting ferocity. After a variety of hazardous adventures, Ismael finally retired to Constantinople, where he attached himself to

A.D.
1820.
Rupture of
Ali Pacha
with the
Porte.

* As the events of the Greek revolution were the results of causes which are particularized in the concluding chapters of the present work, the perusal of the following pages may, perhaps, be advantageously postponed till the reader has glanced over the history of the period immediately antecedent. In preparing this sketch I have studiously avoided entering with minuteness into details which are still doubtful, and of which the most contradictory statements have hitherto been published. I have confined myself solely to important facts, and such as were indispensable to mark the progress of the insurrection. Some time must yet elapse ere we can hope for a collected and authentic narrative of the Greek revolution, and the Memoirs already before us are too strongly influenced by prejudice, disappointment, or interest, to be received with implicit

A.D.
1820.

the party of Ali's enemies in the Divan, and was by their interest raised to the rank of a Capidgi Bachi. His accurate information respecting the state of Epirus, and the policy of its Vizir, enabled him essentially to promote the views of the Sultan against Ali, and by his representations, Halet Effendi, the favourite of the Grand Signor, and the former ally of the Pacha, was induced to join the cabal against him. Informed of all

reliance. Of some insulated periods, our information is no doubt thoroughly correct, where it has been furnished by eyewitnesses or agents, and I am aware that a number of documents of equal authenticity, are still in the hands of individuals, the communication of which will be essential to any historian of the late revolt. I have not deemed it necessary in this brief notice to append to each incident the authority to which I have been indebted, but it may suffice to insert here a list of the journals and memoirs from which it has been compiled. *Histoire des événemens de la Grèce*, par M. C. D. Raffenel, Paris, 8vo. 1822-4-5. *Memoire du Col. Voutier sur la guerre actuelle des Grecs*, 8vo. Paris, 1823. *Histoire de la Régénération de la Grèce*, par F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, 4 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1824. *The Greek Revolution in its origin and progress*, by Edward Blaquiere, 8vo. London, 1824. *Narrative of a Second Visit to Greece*, by the same, 8vo. London, 1825. *Letters from Greece*, by the same, 8vo. London, 1828. *Greece and her Claims*, by the same, 8vo. London, 1826. *Greece in 1823-4*, by the Hon. Col. Leicester Stanhope, 8vo. London, 1824. *A Picture of Greece in 1825*, as exhibited in the *Personal Narratives of James Emerson, Esq. Count Pecchio, and W. H. Humphreys, Esq.* 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1826. *An Autumn in Greece*, by H. L. Bulwer, Esq. London, 1825. *Greece Vindicated*, by Count Palma. London, 8vo. 1826. *Memoires sur la Grèce*, par Maxime Raybaud, 8vo. Paris, 2 vols. 1825. *Visit to Greece*, by George Waddington, Esq. 8vo. London, 1825. *Narrative of Lord Byron's Last Journey to Greece*, by the Count P. Gamba, 8vo. London, 1825. *Souvenirs de la Grèce, pendant la campagne de 1825*, par H. Lauvergne, 8vo. Paris, 1826. *Historical Outline of the Greek Revolution*, by W. M. Leake, 8vo. London, 1826. *Resumé de l'Histoire des Grecs Modernes*, par Armand Carrel, 18mo. Paris, 1826. *Resumé de l'Histoire de la Régénération de la Grèce jusqu'en 1825*, par

these proceedings by Elmas Bey, his agent at the Porte, and terrified at the rapid gathering of the storm, with which he was threatened, Ali resolved on the bold step of ridding himself at once of the individual whom he deemed the prime mover of his misfortunes, and in February 1820, he dispatched two Albanians to the capital, with secret orders to assassinate Ismael Bey.* A.D.
1820.
Attempt to
assassinate
Ismael
Bey.
 The attempt was unsuccessful; the intended victim was but slightly wounded; the Albanians were arrested, and confessed their suborner, and the same day the fatal fetfa was issued by the Mufti, declaring Ali Tebeleni, fermanli, and under the ban of the empire. His name was erased from the list of Vizirs; the government of Joannina was conferred on Ismael Pachó Bey, who was likewise invested with the command of an army

P. J. S. Duféy, 3 vols. 18mo. Paris, 1825. *Chroniques du Levant*, 8vo. Paris, 1825. *Documens relatifs à l'état présent de la Grèce*. Publiés d'après les communications du Comité Philhellenique de Paris, 8vo. Paris, 1826-7-8. *Journal of a Voyage to the Mediterranean*, by the Rev. C. Swan, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1826. *Campagne d'un Jeune François en Grèce*, par T. B. Schack, 8vo. Paris, 1827. *Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England*, by the Rev. Dr. Walsh, 8vo. London, 1828. *Histoire du Siege de Missolonghi*, par M. Auguste Fabre, 8vo. Paris, 1827. *Memoires Historiques et militaires sur les événemens de la Grèce*, par Jourdain, 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1828. *Sketches of the War in Greece*, by P. J. Green, Esq. 8vo. London, 1827. *Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, by Samuel Howe, M.D. New York, 1828. *Histoire de la Revolution Grecque*, par M. Alex. Soutzo, 8vo. Paris, 1829. *Histoire Moderne de la Grèce*, par Jackovsky Rizo Neroulos, Geneva, 8vo. 1828. *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 9. *North American Review*, Nos. 61. 64. &c. &c. &c.

* This rash step, so inconsistent with the usual policy of Ali, has been supposed to have been arranged by Ismael Bey himself, and that Ali had no concern in it whatever. Be this as it may, it effectually answered the design of the Pacha's enemies, and precipitated the hasty vengeance of the Sultan.

Rizo, *Histoire*, &c. p. 255.

A.D. 1820. ordered to be raised with all expedition to act against the outlawed satrap, and a fleet was directed to be in readiness to sail for the coast of Epirus immediately on the termination of the Ramazan.

Prepara-
tions for
war.

In this emergency, one of the first precautions of Ali was to call to his assistance his old enemies the Armatoli of Northern Greece, who gladly obeyed the summons, and received arms and commissions from the hands of the Pacha. He negotiated likewise with the Albanians of Epirus, and the discontented inhabitants of Servia and the northern provinces; his agents were dispatched in all directions to secure the co-operation of the Christians and the Heterists; and but a few weeks had elapsed from the announcement of his disgrace, till he had nominally attached to his service a formidable host, and organized the entire extent of Northern Greece, so as to await in composure and security the advance of the enemy.

Arming of
the Greeks.

The necessity of adopting similar measures had been equally perceived by the Divan. The Suliots, who had hesitated to accept the offers of Ali Pacha, were induced by Ismael Bey to return to their country, on the promise of being reinstated in their mountains; and Suleyman Pacha, of Larissa, received instructions to call the Greek population to arms against the common enemy. A proclamation to this effect was drawn up and disseminated by his secretary; but as it was promulgated in Greek, a language of which Suleyman was ignorant, the crafty scribe, who was himself a Heterist, so worded it as to render it neither more nor less than a violent revolutionary summons. For this rash act Suleyman was replaced in his government by Mahmoud Drama Ali, directed to return to Constantinople, and finally beheaded. But the act was irrevocable; every Greek throughout Thessaly obeyed the call with ala-

crity, and on the subsequent arrival of Ismael Bey with the body of the army, he had no other resource than to applaud their spirit and enroll them with his Mahomedans. Nor was their newly-aroused courage long permitted to remain in inaction, as their arms were almost immediately turned against their allies, in retaliation for the ravages committed by the gathering troops of the Sultan. Peklevan Baba, Pacha of Routschuk, who had been named to the Sangiac of Lepanto, had, previously to the arrival of Ismael Bey, overrun all Eastern Greece, Bœotia, Livadia, and Ætolia, where his soldiers conducted themselves with such insubordination and brutality, that long before the actual commencement of hostilities, the entire of these provinces were in a state of the most frightful anarchy and outrage.

A.D.
1820.

The sons of Ali, on the first news of his reverses, had hastened to his assistance, and were disposed as circumstances and necessity warranted. Mouctar proceeded to Berat, which he however abandoned on the first approach of the Ottoman forces, and retired to Argyro Castro. Salik, his youngest brother, was stationed at Premiti; and Arta and Prevesa were entrusted to Veli, who fixed his quarters at the latter. His son Mehmet was dispatched to the protection of Parga; Hussein and Mahmoud, the children of Mouctar, were stationed at Souli and Tepeleni; and the chief command of the Pacha's forces, amounting to 15,000 men, was committed to Omer Vriones. The first preliminary movements of the campaign were disastrous to the Vizir; the Klephts of Cisaxian Macedonia, and Thessaly deserted to the Sultan on the arrival of Mahmoud Drama Ali. The southern districts, almost from Arta to Volo, were occupied, as before mentioned, by Peklevan Baba, and Northern Albania was

Desertion
of Ali by
his family.

A.D. 1820. thrown into confusion by the advance of Mustai, Pacha of Scodra, whose career was, however, arrested by a revolt of the Montenegrins, concerted, it was said, by the agents of the Vizir of Epirus.

Such was the position of affairs, when in July, 1820, a Turkish squadron, under the command of the Capitana Bey, appeared in the Ionian Seas, and occupied at once Panormo, Santi Quaranta, Delvino, St. Basil, Moursino, and Butrinto; and almost at the same instant Ismael Bey, at the head of 20,000 men, arrived on the frontiers of Epirus. The fall of Ali was now as rapid as his rise had been astonishing. Parga was surrendered to the Capitana Bey by Mehmet Pacha, but not till after he had been deserted by his entire garrison. His father Veli was allured by the promise of the Pachalic of St. John d'Acre to deliver up Prevesa, without firing a shot; and Mouctar, induced by a similar offer, admitted the troops of the Sultan at Argyrocastro. Salik, persuaded by the advice of his brothers, retired likewise from Tepeleni, and in a few days the ill-fated Vizir saw the entire of his maritime fortresses in the hands of his enemies, and his pusillanimous children nominally guests, but in reality prisoners, on board the vessel of the Vice-admiral. Nor was he more fortunate on his eastern frontier; in every direction, as the Seraskier advanced, the Greeks and Albanians deserted to his standard, and on his near approach to Joannina, Omer Vriones, with the entire body of forces under his command, joined the army of the Sultan. Scarcely any point now remained to Ali save the Suliot fortresses and his capital. It was in vain, however, to attempt defending the latter after the defection of his troops; a remnant of his forces, amounting to about 8000, still remained, and with these, and a supply of ammunition and provisions sufficient for

Conquest
of Epirus
by the Se-
raskier.

four years, he retired to the fortress of the lake, after giving up the city to be plundered by his Albanians. These, when satiated with their ravages, instead of returning to the fortress, betook themselves with all haste to their native mountains; the houses were then bombarded from the citadel of Litaritza, and finally set on fire to prevent their affording quarters to the enemy; and when, in the end of August, Ismael Bey arrived at Joannina, he was proclaimed Pacha amidst a heap of smoking ruins. Despoiled of his territory, deserted by his soldiers, and betrayed by his children, the forlorn tyrant sat within his beleaguered fortress, surrounded by heaps of now worthless treasure, and attended only by one faithful friend, his wife Basiliké: his fate, however it might be protracted, was inevitable, and the Seraskier, proud of his success, and secure in his object, halted in comparative inaction to await the final surrender of the fallen chieftain.

A.D.
1820.

Ali besieged in Joannina.

The operations of the Heterists during this period were neither sluggish nor unimportant: the date originally agreed on by them for attempting an insurrection in Greece is said to have been 1825, but this they were suddenly induced to alter by the singular conjunction of circumstances by which the Ottoman empire was at this moment beset. The grievances of Servia had been but partially remedied, and the utmost discontent and turbulence still pervaded that singular province; Moldavia and Wallachia, partly by the machinations of the Heteria, but chiefly through the tyranny of the Boyars, were ripe for rebellion; a rupture seemed quickly hastening between the Sultan and the Emperor of Russia, who was actually assembling an army on the banks of the Pruth; and angry negotiations had already commenced between the Porte and the Court of Persia. The entire extent of Northern Greece, now openly in

Proceedings of the Heteria.

A.D.
1820. arms, was thrown into the wildest ferment by the excesses of the Epiriot war, and the leaven of discontent had been carefully extended to the Morea and Islands by the precautions of the Heterists; added to this, the Heteria itself had already become an object of alarm to its own members; its power was unlimited throughout Greece; and, from the want of any efficient control, was not unfrequently exerted in the most unwarrantable proceedings. Assuming the authority and character of a political inquisition, it dared to exercise a power of life and death over its subjects, and numerous instances are recorded of the mysterious execution of obnoxious individuals in pursuance of its mandates. From an object of veneration and hope it already began to be regarded by the Greeks with terror and apprehension; and circumstances and necessity thus pointing the propriety of attempting those designs whose accomplishment was to be the termination of its existence, its leaders resolved at once on seizing the present auspicious moment for commencing the contemplated revolution.

Alexander
Ipsylanti.

The office of Arché, or chief of the Heteria, had been some time before conferred on Alexander Ipsylanti, an officer of rank in the service of Russia, and representative of a distinguished family of the Phanar. His father had been successively Hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia, and his deposition from the latter in 1805, contrary to the constitution of the province, led to the war between Russia and the Porte,* on the commencement of which the dishonoured Hospodar took refuge at St. Petersburg. Here his eldest son, Alexander, had risen rapidly in favour with the Court; he obtained military service under the Emperor, distinguished himself in the German campaign, and having

* See Vol. ii. of this History, note, p. 29.

lost his right hand at the battle of Culm, he was rewarded by the Czar with the command of a regiment of the Imperial Guards. When entrusted by the Heteria with the sovereignty of their body, he was still young and inexperienced, and possessed no other claim to that honour than a sterling, though ill-regulated patriotism, and distinguished rank at the Court of the monarch from whom the association was led to hope for assistance. Possessed of considerable courage, but without proportionate discretion, and endowed with more than ordinary vanity, he might have distinguished himself as a subordinate in the expedition, but he was totally devoid of that intrepidity and firmness of purpose, and of all those commanding talents which are essential to success in an enterprise so vast and momentous.

A.D.
1820.

In consequence of the determination of the Heteria, he left St. Petersburg in 1820, and remained for some time with his family at Odessa, whence he removed to Kichénoff, in Bessarabia, in order to be nearer to the Hospodariats, where the Heteria had resolved to make their first attempts, allured, in all probability, by the hope of co-operation in the Russian provinces. Whether this expectation was altogether chimerical, or grounded on some intimations from the northern Court, is as yet a matter of uncertainty: the partisans of Russia strenuously deny all participation of the Emperor or his cabinet in the designs of the Heteria, whilst the friends of the latter as loudly assert the definite hopes which were from time to time held out to them.* It is cer-

Insurrec-
tion in
Moldavia.

* Soutzo, in his *Histoire de la Revolution Grecque*, relates some curious incidents of the conferences of the Emperor Alexander with the agents of the Heteria, and gives likewise some documents written by Ipsylanti, in which the concurrence of Russia in his revolutionary designs is roundly asserted.—Liv. i. p. 37.

A.D. tain, at least, that even before the appearance of Ipsylanti, the belief in this promised assistance was universal throughout Greece, and was made use of by the Heteria as the most efficient grounds on which to urge their purpose.

1821.

General re- The two provinces had, in the mean time, been or-
volt of the ganized for revolt by Georgaki, an Olympian, and com-
Hospodari- mander of a corps of Macedonian and Epiriot mercena-
ata. ries in the Wallachian service. A number of pandours, arnauts, and others, were disposed along the banks of the Pruth, and on the road leading thence to the capital, and held in readiness to join the march of Ipsylanti. On the 6th of March 1821, the Prince crossed the river, attended by a few Greeks of distinction, and a small troop of Albanians, and the following day he entered Yassi, and took up his residence at the palace of the Princess Cantacuzene, whose sons were associated with him in the enterprise. Michael Soutzo, the Hospodar of Moldavia, who was all along privy to his designs, received him with open arms, and afforded him every facility and assistance in the furtherance of his project. He proceeded without delay to issue proclamations, calling the Greeks and Rumuns to arms; and promised to the insurgents the immediate assistance of a great northern power. The success of his first attempts was gratifying beyond expectation, and crowds of youths from the provinces thronged around his palace, and eagerly demanded arms, and to be led to action. The

The Sacred flower of his forces, however, was the Sacred Band, a
Band. corps composed of 500 youths, of all the most distinguished Greek families, who had studied in Europe, and, at the call of the Heteria, had returned and enrolled themselves for the liberation of their country. Their arms and equipments were each procured by themselves; their uniform was black, their crest a skull

**A.D.
1821.**

**Theodore
Valdimi-
resco.**

Revolt of Wallachia.

- A.D. 1821. nari Sava, the commander of a band of 4000 Albanians, who were stationed for its defence. The party of the Boyars who were averse from his claims, were compelled to submit on his approach; and Theodore, flushed with his unexpected success, had now no other wish than to come to terms with the Divan, whom he conceived he could so far overawe, as to procure his own nomination as Hospodar of Wallachia.
- First reverses of Ipsylanti. Ipsylanti, in the interim, had already begun to experience a reverse of fortune. He had quitted Yassi, about the end of March, attended by about 1600 followers, and arrived at Foksani, the frontier town of Moldavia and Wallachia, on his way to Bucharest. Here he learned the movements of Theodore, and received intimation of his unwillingness to co-operate further with the Heteria. Intelligence, at the same time, was brought him of the conduct of the Russian Consul at Yassi, who, in pursuance of directions received from the Emperor Alexander, who was then at the congress of Layback, denounced officially the proceedings of Ipsylanti, and disclaimed all co-operation or approval of his proceedings.
- Declaration of Russia. Baron Strogonoff, the Russian Minister of the Porte, received instruction at the same time to make a similar announcement to the Divan, and to declare the determination of the Czar to maintain a strict neutrality in the present affairs of the provinces. Soutzo, the Moldavian Hospodar, immediately on the intimation of these reverses, had deserted the cause of Ipsylanti, and fled with the military chest to Odessa; and to crown the discomfiture of the Prince, he received at the same instant orders from the Czar to return forthwith to his regiment at St. Petersburg.—Nor had these misfortunes a less striking effect on the soldiery of Ipsylanti than on their leader; alarm and despair were universally excited amongst them, and they rapidly split

into turbulent factions of those parties who severally supported or opposed the abandonment of the expedition. The natives of the provinces, panic struck by the defection of Russia, hung back in uncertainty, and hesitated to take up arms; the Servians, influenced, it is supposed, by the advice of Austria, likewise declined proceeding in the affair; and Ipsylanti was thus left in the commencement of his project with merely a band of dissatisfied factious mercenaries, and deserted by all on whom he could place reliance, except the gallant members of the Sacred Band, who, in the sequel, attested but too well their patriotism and fidelity.

A.D.
1821.

In spite of all reverses, however, he resolved to proceed; and accordingly pursued his route to Kolentina, a villa about two leagues from Bucharest. Here he entered into treaty with Valdimiresco, and a junction of their forces was eventually formed, after which, without occupying the city, he broke up his camp, and retired to Tergovist, in order, as he professed, to attempt farther negotiations with Servia; but, most probably, with a view of being more convenient to the Transylvanian frontier, in case of his being obliged to retreat from Wallachia. Here he remained for a considerable time, in the most culpable inactivity, and evidently striving to drown in festivities and luxury, the fever of dismay and indecision.

Ipsylanti
enters
Wallachia.

The Turks, on the first intimation of his movements, had evinced considerable alarm, and evidently expected some powerful disaster from the side of Russia. Reassured, however, by the declarations of Strogonoff, they now bethought themselves of quelling the tumult; Jusuph, Pacha of Ibrail, received orders to advance into Moldavia, which he spent the month of May in reducing to subjection; Hadji Achmet, of Widin, was directed to pass the Danube and occupy Little Walla-

Measures
adopted by
the Divan.

- A.D. 1821. chia, and the Pachas of Silistria and Roustchuk were dispatched with from 8 to 10,000 men to recover Bucharest. Their arrival there, on the 10th of April, was marked by slaughter and executions. Valdimiresco, on their approach, retired north to Kimpelung, with the design, as it was supposed, of cutting off a portion of Ipsylanti's forces from the main body, and with these, as a peace-offering, submitting himself and his followers to the Seraskier. His intention, however, was anticipated, and Georgaki, with heroic promptitude, arrested him in the midst of his treachery, and gave him to be hewn to death by the sabres of his own pandours. Sava, his colleague, was not more fortunate; he returned to his allegiance on the first appearance of the Turks, and was afterwards rewarded for his loyalty by the bowstring.
- Defeat of the rebels.
- Turks attack Ipsylanti.
- Moldavia reduced.
- In the commencement of June, the Turks set out from Bucharest to attack the main army of Ipsylanti. He had lately lost a large proportion of his forces by the removal of the Prince George Cantacuzene, who on the advance of Jusuph into Moldavia, had withdrawn with from 4000 to 5000 men, for the protection of that province. Instead of meeting the Pacha, however, he fled with all expedition to the banks of the Pruth, and finally crossed over into Bessarabia; whilst the remnant of his troops, under the command of his lieutenant Athanasio, were shortly after defeated and dispersed by the Turks at Stinga, on the banks of the river. On the departure of Cantacuzene and the advance of the Seraskier, Ipsylanti passed the Oltau at Rimnik, and met him in the plain of Dragaschan, where the fate of the ill-starred expedition was decided on the following morning, the 19th of June. The battle was lost through the imprudence and cowardice of Caravia, one of Ipsylanti's lieutenants, who, without waiting for the

arrival of the Prince himself, or the division of Georgaki, who were coming up with all speed, commenced the attack with his own troops and the Sacred Band. Unable to withstand the shock of the Turkish cavalry, his arnauts and cossacks turned to flight on the first charge, and the battalion of young patriots thus left defenceless in the midst of an overwhelming force, were hewn to pieces, ere their companions had time to hurry to their assistance. Only about one hundred escaped with life, and fled to the quarters of Ipsylanti, with whom they retired to the Monastery of Khosia. Here the Prince bade farewell to his few discomfited followers, and directing them to retire and disperse themselves along the Transylvanian frontier, he himself fled to the pass of Rothentûrn, where he was seized by the Austrian authorities, and sent a prisoner to the fortress of Muncatz, in Hungary. He was subsequently immured at Theresienstadt, in Bohemia, and after several years suffering and hardship, was liberated in 1827, and died at Vienna the same year, from the effects of his long and rigorous confinement.

A.D.
1821.

Battle of
Dragas-
chan.

The faithful Georgaki had vowed, when entering on the expedition, to desert it only with life; he refused to share the exile of his master, and having bade him farewell at Khosia, he returned to reassemble the remnant of his scattered band. He was enabled to enroll about 1500, with whom he passed over into Moldavia, and continued to harass the army of the Turks. He was defeated however in numerous encounters, and at last betrayed to his enemies, by the Bishop of Romano, to whom the Pacha had promised an archiepiscopal see as the reward of his treachery. Georgaki was inveigled by the infamous prelate to the monastery of Secco, in the district of Ni-amtzo, and delivered up to the Pacha, by whom he was conveyed to Constantinople, and beheaded in July 1821.

Death of
Georgaki.

A.D.
1821.

For some time after the suppression of the insurrection, the provinces were infested by the outrages of the Ottoman army, and reduced to such an ebb of misery, that the cabinet of Russia was led to interfere in their behalf. Their demands were long evaded with systematic obstinacy by the Porte, and the protracted and unsatisfactory negotiation ended in a war, of which we have but lately seen the termination.

Tumults at
Constanti-
nople.

The announcement of Ipsylanti's proceedings in the Hospodariats, was accompanied at Constantinople with the intimation of similar movements throughout Greece, and the reported discovery of a wild project, said to be entertained by the Heteria, for seizing on the arsenal, firing the city, massacring the inhabitants, and overturning the dynasty of the Sultans. Such a rumour instantly produced the utmost agitation throughout the capital, exciting panic and alarm amongst the weak and ignorant, and arousing the utmost indignation of the Divan and authorities.

Their vengeance gave itself vent in the wonted barbarities and excesses which characterise every popular excitement in Turkey. The Ottoman inhabitants armed instantly for the defence of the capital, and Tatars were dispatched to all the provinces to arouse the various governors, and assemble troops for the suppression of the refractory Rayahs. Arrests and executions of the Constantinopolitan Christians followed with fearful rapidity; the earliest victims were the wealthy Moldavian and Wallachian families, and to these succeeded the suspected Phanariots and other distinguished Greeks of Pera. Those who had intimation of their danger, and all who were really implicated in the projects of the Heteria, betook themselves to precipitate flight, and numbers succeeded in effecting their escape to Odessa and Bessarabia; whilst the majority of the fugitives,

less fortunate, hurried on board the vessels in the harbour, heedless of choosing an asylum, and anxious only to elude the fangs of their pursuers: the innocent and the unsuspecting were thus left to meet the fury of the enemy, together with those whom poverty or other imperative causes withheld from flight. The Janissaries and Asiatic troops, who came pouring in from all quarters, on their march towards Greece, took upon themselves the preservation of order throughout the city, and exercised their authority with the most wanton cruelty. The terrified Greeks were compelled to keep close within their houses, where troops of armed miscreants were stationed to guard them, under the pretence of protecting them from the insults of the mob, but in reality to prevent their escaping from the capital. The violence of the populace was, however, kept within comparative bounds; though murders and assassinations were of frequent occurrence, till about the middle of April, when, on the news of Ipsylanti's successes, and other simultaneous movements of the Greeks, they at once flung aside the mask, and gave free vent to all the bitterness of religious and national hatred. The houses of the Greeks were burst open by the mob, the miserable inmates were butchered before their doors, and their property carried off by bands of Jews and other wretches who followed at the heels of the Janissaries, allured by the hope of plunder. During the three days which preceded the festival of Easter, Constantinople presented a spectacle at which human nature revolts; in every street where the Greeks resided, were to be encountered the bodies of the dead or the dying, and the terrified wretches whom hunger or their enemies forced to issue from their dwellings, were instantly fired on by their infuriated murderers. The vessels in the harbour afforded no protection; those who had taken

A.D.
1821.

Sufferings
of the
Greeks.

A.D.
1821.

Murder
of the
Patriarch.

refuge on board them, were dragged from their hiding-places, butchered on the beach, and their carcasses flung into the waters of the Bosphorus. Europeans of every nation were assaulted with indiscriminate barbarity, and the houses of the Consuls were broken open by the mob, in order to reach the trembling victims who had sought shelter beneath their flags. It is stated, that during these few days, upwards of 10,000 Greeks disappeared from Constantinople, either by flight or massacre; and for several weeks afterwards, the bodies of those who had perished were seen floating over the sea of Marmora, or lay putrifying on its shores.* These enormities were consummated by the perpetration of a crime, which was calculated even more than indiscriminate slaughter to strike terror to the hearts of the Greeks. On the morning of Easter-day, Gregorios, the Patriarch of Constantinople, an aged prelate of exemplary piety, was seized by a troop of Janissaries when returning from celebrating the sacred ceremonies of the festival, and hanged in his pontifical robes, at the door of the church at whose altar he had but a few moments before been officiating. His body, after being exposed for some days to the insults of the Turks, was cut down, and given to a party of Jews, by whom it was dragged throughout the streets, and flung into the harbour, where it was picked up by an Ionian vessel, and carried for interment to Odessa. The Archbishops of Ephesus, Nicomedia, and Anchialos, suffered along

* The accounts of this massacre have been doubtless highly exaggerated, especially as the individuals who record it are chiefly partisans of the Greeks. Mr. Waddington, who collected his information on the spot, seems to discredit the extent usually assigned to the numbers who perished; but even with every possible allowance, the butchery committed by the Janissaries at this period, and during the subsequent years, appears scarcely credible, were it not supported by such undoubted authorities.

with the venerable Patriarch ; eight chaplains of the Cathedral were dragged, in their sacred costume, to different quarters of the city, and immolated by the mob, and the evening concluded by a renewal of the butchery of the unfortunate Christians.

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The commotion thus excited at the capital, quickly extended to the adjoining villages ; and Therapia and Buyukdere presented on a minor scale all the enormities of Constantinople. Smyrna likewise caught the flame, which spread in every direction, to Scala Nova, Magnesia, Adrianople, Salonica, Philippopolis, and the cities of Northern Greece, in all of which the atrocities of the Turks were perpetrated with the most unrelenting barbarity ; and it is estimated, that during the first three months of the revolution, 30,000 Greeks fell victims to the fury and fanaticism of their tyrants.

Similar
massacres
throughout
Turkey.

When the first burst of indignation had thus vented itself at Constantinople, order and tranquillity were gradually restored ; and the Divan, satisfied with the fearful example it had made, issued orders for preventing farther emigration, and directed the immediate disarming of the Greek population throughout the provinces ; troops were promptly dispatched to the districts whose inhabitants were in revolt ; and a fleet was directed to be equipped with all expedition, to cruise in the Archipelago, and keep the islanders in proper subjection.

The first symptoms of revolt in the Morea occurred on the injudicious and tardy measures of the Caimakam of Tripolizza for carrying into effect the Boyourdi of the Divan, to disarm the Greeks of the peninsula. The primates of the several districts were directed to repair forthwith to the seat of government, as hostages, prepared to answer with their lives for the conduct of their countrymen. The order was obeyed by a few, but others more resolute, or perhaps better informed of the

Commence-
ment of the
insurrec-
tion in the
Morea.

A.D. 1821. inflamed passions of the Moreots, and their determination to resist, refused to comply, and preferred precipitating the insurrection, to trusting their persons in the hands of the Ottoman authorities. Amongst these, the most distinguished individual was Germanos, Archbishop of Patras, who, without hesitation, adopted the latter course, and attended by a large body of peasantry, raised the standard of revolt at Calavryta in Arcadia, on the 4th of April 1821. His example was instantly imitated at each extremity of the Morea, and whilst his own party was daily strengthened by volunteers from Elis and Argolis, the Mainotes descended from their mountain fastnesses, and under the command of their Bey Pietro Mauro-Michali, overran all the plains of Laconia and Messenia, took possession of the town of Calamata, at the extremity of the Gulf of Coron, and assembled there the first national convention of the Greeks, under the title of the Senate of Messenia, which instantly assumed the functions of a provisional government, issued proclamations to the Moreots, organized the forces already in revolt, sent for supplies of arms and ammunition from the various ports of the Mediterranean, and addressed a manifesto to the Courts of Europe and the United States, calling on their sympathy and aid.

Revolt of
Maina.

Senate of
Messenia.

Similar
movements
at Patras,

The inhabitants of Patras, exasperated at an extraordinary levy demanded at this juncture for the support of the Epiriot war, readily adopted a like course with their Prelate, and on the same day that Calavryta asserted its independence, the Greeks of Patras rose in arms, drove the Turkish Governor to the fortress, and took possession of the town; which, however, they were compelled to abandon a few days after, on the advance of a body of troops from the Castle of the Morea. Theodore Colocotroni, son to

him who had fallen during the Russian expedition in 1770,* and his nephew Nicetas, surnamed from his prowess the "Turcophage," hastened, on the first signal of rebellion, to arouse the natives of Caritena and the adjoining district; and a priest named Gregorios, or Di-^{the North}kaios, effected a similar purpose throughout the Argolis^{of the Mo-} and the vicinity of Corinth. The islanders of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, who had at first manifested a prudent hesitation to embark in the revolution, now, urged by the representation of the Senate of Messenia, and indignant at the murder of their countrymen who had been serving on board the Ottoman fleet, called in and armed their merchant-vessels, contributed largely for their equipment, and on the 28th of April, sent out a^{Hydriots fit} squadron of twenty-one sail†, under the command of Gia-^{out a fleet.}comaki Tombazi, to cruise in the Archipelago. The majority of the inhabitants of the Cyclades, who had been previously visited by the emissaries of the Heteria, declared for the insurgents on the first appearance of their fleet: and Tinos, Andros, Samos, Milo, Zea, Mycone, Naxos, Anaphe, and the Sphakiots of Candia and Casos, joined at once the cause of liberty. Chios, and the Islands of the Asiatic coast, in which the Boyourdi of the Divan had been carried into effect, alone held back in alarm, and declined to co-operate. On the 22nd of May the squadron returned to Hydra, after capturing a convoy of transports sailing from Salonica to the Morea, and gaining some other trifling advantages over straggling Turkish vessels.

Before the end of June the entire of the Peloponnesus was in the hands of the Greeks, with the exception of

* See vol. ii. of the History, note p. 377.

† These, in a short time increased, by subsidies from the other islands, to between eighty and ninety sail, averaging two hundred and fifty tons and twelve guns, besides fireships and transports.

A.D. 1821. the fortresses, to which the Turks had fled for refuge when driven from the villages and the open country by the insurgents; and similar movements had likewise taken place throughout Northern Greece.

Progress of the war against Ali Pacha. On the desertion of Ali Pacha by his followers and his family, his hopes turned upon the Suliots, whose bravery he had already but too dearly proved. A secret negotiation was opened with some of their leaders, and disgusted with the bad faith of Ismael Pacha, who delayed, and at last declined performing his promise of restoring them to their native mountains, they acceded at once to the offers of Ali. On the night of the 24th of November 1820, they deserted from the camp of the Seraskier, and to the number of seven hundred and fifty, under the conduct of Kitzos Botzaris, whom they elected polemarch, repaired to Suli, all whose fortresses were instantly surrendered to them by Tahir Abbas, Ali's lieutenant, with the exception of that which he had lately erected at Kiapha, and even this they shortly after obtained possession of. Here their first care was to strengthen their forces by collecting all the scattered parties of their friends and former dependants; and, this effected, they instantly set about harassing the forces of the Seraskier, intercepting his convoys, and attacking his garrisons and outposts in the vicinity of their mountains. They dispatched agents and emissaries in all directions to arouse the Greeks to arm against the Ottoman authorities. Their exertions were almost universally successful; and the revolution may be thus considered as virtually commenced in Northern Greece ere the Morea had yet raised the cry of liberty. The Armatoli and independent chieftains seconded enthusiastically the views of the Heterists and Suliots. Odusseus, or Ulysses, one of the most powerful chiefs of Livadia, who had long been attached to the court and

The Suliots desert to Ali.

service of Ali Pacha, departed from Joannina with the permission of the Vizir, and spread the flame of rebellion throughout his native province. Bœotia was in like manner encouraged to revolt by Diakos, another Kleft of distinguished prowess, and a body of forces under his direction took possession of the pass of Thermopylæ. Athens, Negropont, Megara, and the vicinity of the Corinthian Gulf simultaneously threw off the yoke. The natives of Megara, on the success of the Athenians, assembled in a body under the Heterist Dikaïos, seized the dervens leading from the isthmus to the heart of the Peloponnesus, and appearing in arms before Corinth, drove the garrison for refuge to the citadel, but, this being almost impregnable, their efforts could be of no farther avail. Ætolia and Acarnania were slow in catching up the spreading flame, but at length, about the middle of the summer, Missolonghi and Anatolico declared their independence, expelled the Turks from the confines, and set about fortifying their walls. The majority of the Armatoli and Christians, who had at first joined the standard of the Seraskier, had now deserted, and returned to collect their friends throughout their several districts, and Ismael Bey, alarmed for treachery in his camp, was compelled to dismiss the remainder, who forthwith hastened to join the common cause of their countrymen.

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The insur-
rection ex-
tends
throughout
Northern
Greece.

Early in the spring the Divan, irritated at the protracted siege of Joannina, issued an order, depriving Ismael Pacha of the command, and nominating Kurchid Pacha of Tripolizza in his stead. The latter, however, had scarcely reached his destination, ere he was informed of the various movements of the insurgents, and instantly adopted vigorous measures for their suppression: Mohammed, his Kiaya, he dispatched to the Morea by the way of Lepanto and Parss, with an army of

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1821.

3000 men, including 1500 Albanians, under the command of one of their chiefs, Elmas Bey. He sacked and burned Vostizza, reinforced the garrison of Corinth and Napoli di Romania, ravaged and destroyed Argos, and retired with his forces within the walls of Tripolizza. Another lieutenant entered Bœotia by the passes of Ceta, burned Livadia, and occupied Thebes, destroying and levelling its houses with the ground; whilst Omer Vriones, at the head of seven hundred horse, marched with all haste to the defence of Athens, and drove off the Greeks, who, with the assistance of some Hydriots, were besieging the Acropolis, and who fled to Salamis on his approach. He occupied the city till the November following, when on his departure the Greeks renewed the blockade of the Acropolis, which they maintained till the 22nd of June 1822, when it capitulated: one half of the garrison were, contrary to the articles of the surrender, butchered by the Greeks, and the residue, being protected by the European Consuls, were finally carried off by some French vessels of war, and landed on the Asiatic coast. In all these expeditions the forces of Kurchid were perpetually harassed by the Suliots, under Marco Botzaris, who hung upon their rear, attacked them from ambuscades, and frequently during the night penetrated their camp and spread terror and death to the very tents of the commanders. These indefatigable guerillas interfered with all his projects, whether against the Moreots or Ali Pacha; and in every instance where their encounters assumed the appearance of an action, as at Gratsana, at Plesca, at Dramessous, and Placa, the Albanians and Turks were invariably worsted by their intrepid chieftain.

Athens
taken by
the Greeks.

Battle of
Valtezi.

The first important action in the Morea took place at Valtezi, a village a few leagues to the east of Tripolizza, where Colocotroni and a chief named Anag-

nostara, had encamped with the revolutionary forces. Here the Kiaya Mohammed prepared to attack them, and invited to his assistance the inhabitants of Lalla, a tribe of Albanian Schypetars, who had been established at this village, (in the vicinity of Pyrgos, in Elis,) since the defeat of the Russian expedition in 1770. The latter, when on their march, were intercepted by a body of Ionian volunteers who had landed in the Morea, under the conduct of Count Metaxa, a Cephaloniot of some influence. An action ensued; the Lalliots were completely routed, their village taken, and the inhabitants compelled to fly for protection to the Turkish garrison at Patras. Deprived of his expected allies, Mohammed attacked the Greeks at Valtezi to manifest disadvantage; in a brief, but decisive contest, the forces of Colocotroni remained masters of the field, and he was compelled to retreat towards Tripolizza with considerable loss, and closely pursued by the conquerors. Flushed with such unexampled success, the enthusiasm of the Moreots was now at its full height, whilst their fury was inflamed by the intelligence of the atrocities perpetrated on their countrymen at Constantinople, and the ignominious fate of their Patriarch. In every district their numbers were swelled by bands of refugees flying from the fury of the Turks, and inflaming the minds of their countrymen by the exhibition of their wounds, and the tale of their sufferings and wrongs. Contributions of arms and money were daily arriving from Europe, whither agents had been dispatched by the Messenian Senate to arouse the sympathy and claim the assistance of their fellow Christians, and crowds of patriotic Greeks and foreigners hastened to swell their ranks and lend their aid to a cause so sacred. Amongst the latter the most remarkable were the Prince Demetrius Ipsylanti, brother to Alexander,

A.D.
1821.

Enthusi-
asm of the
Moreots.

A.D. 1821. and a member of the Phanariot family of Maurocordato, who had been Postelnik to Karadza, the Hospodar of Wallachia, and shared in his flight from Bucharest in 1818. He was a man of extensive education and polished manners, and though possessed of no striking talents, and addicted to rather a crooked line of policy, he has continued to act by far the most distinguished part during all the subsequent scenes of the revolution. On his arrival he directed his attention principally to the affairs of Missolonghi and Western Greece, which he succeeded in bringing early into a state of considerable organization; whilst Theodore Negris, a Phanariot of talent and intelligence, effected a similar object in Livadia and Eastern Greece. Ipsylanti, convinced of the importance of securing the success of the revolution in the Morea, proceeded thither at once, after landing at Hydra; and in the latter end of June he was named generalissimo of the forces which were then preparing to lay siege to Tripolizza. He possessed all the failings of his brother; he was a man of intelligence, patriotism, and incorruptible integrity, but distinguished neither by military experience nor commanding talent. He was accompanied by Gregory Cantacuzene, brother to the prince who deserted the cause of the Heterists in Moldavia on the advance of the Pacha of Ibrail. On his arrival at headquarters, he was instantly acknowledged by the army as the Commander-in-chief, and forthwith dispatched Cantacuzene to assist in the blockade of Napoli di Malvasia, which was already beset by the Mainotes, under Mauro-Michali, and shortly expected to surrender. Navarino was at the same time besieged by a body of Ionians, under the command of the Count Mercati; and the Turks of Coron and Modon were closely pressed by bodies of Messenians. The Mega-

Alexander
Maurocor-
dato,

and
Demetrius
Ipsylanti
join the
Greeks.

rians and inhabitants north of the Isthmus, were still quartered before Corinth; Patras was besieged by Metaxa and his Cephalonians, and Napoli di Romania was blockaded by land by the people of Argos, and by sea by some Spezziot vessels, the property of an amazon named Bobolina, who herself commanded in person. The main body of the insurgent forces were however reserved for the reduction of Tripolizza, whose importance as the capital of the peninsula, and the only inland position where the Turks could fortify themselves, rendered it the first object of anxiety to the leaders of the revolt.

A.D.
1821.

In the mean time the first division of the Ottoman fleet, consisting of five sail of the line, with four frigates and some transports, issued from the Dardanelles, and steered for the Archipelago. They were met on the 5th of June, off the island of Mitylene, by the squadron of Tombazi, which was again at sea; and, terrified at the appearance of the Greeks, the Turkish commander took refuge within the harbour of the Euripus. Hence he dispatched a fifty-gun ship to the Dardanelles to hasten the sailing of the other division, but Tombazi having followed with promptitude, the Ottoman vessel was stranded off the promontory of Eressus, and burned by a Hydriot fireship. On the arrival of the disastrous intelligence the Turkish admiral again put to sea, and retired with all haste within the Dardanelles, whilst Tombazi proceeded to the South, in order to execute a project for arming and arousing the Christian inhabitants of Aivali, Smyrna, and Scala Nova. His design was, unfortunately, anticipated; he arrived but in time to witness the destruction of Aivali* by the Pacha of Pergamos; and Smyrna and Scala Nova expiated their meditated treason by massacres similar in atrocity to those of Easter.

Turkish
fleet issue
from the
Darda-
nelles.

Defeated by
Tombazi.

* June 15, 1821.

A.D.
1821.

The Ottoman fleet, in the mean time, returned from the Dardanelles with upwards of thirty sail, and having halted to take on board the ravagers of Aivali, steered direct for Samos, which was then in rebellion, its population being increased by several thousands of fugitives from the adjoining coast. The Capitan Pacha cast anchor in the bay of Vathi, and gave orders to attack the insurgents; but his forces having met with a thorough repulse, returned precipitately on board the fleet, which, without delay, hove up anchor and stood to sea.

Its further
proceedings.

For several weeks it was narrowly watched by the Greek cruisers, and prevented from landing any reinforcements in the Morea till about the end of August, when being reinforced by contingents of four-and-twenty sail from Algiers and Egypt, it effected a passage round Cape Matapan, attempted a landing at Calamata, but was repulsed by a corps of Philhellenes, threw stores into Modon, Coron, and Patras, strengthened the army of Kurchid with some reinforcements, and finally returned to the Dardanelles in October, without effecting any object of importance farther than destroying the little trading town of Galaxida, in the Gulf of Corinth.

State of the
war in the
Morea.

Affairs in the interim had been proceeding but slowly in the Morea. The number of insurgents amounted, it was said, to upwards of 18,000, but as these were unprovided with battering cannon, or engines for the assault of fortified places, they could effect little against an enemy, however inferior in numbers, when enclosed within defensible walls. The only resource therefore was to force a surrender by blockade, but the delay and languor induced by this tedious method of warfare were soon productive of the worst consequences. Parties sprung up amidst the leaders, and ere they had yet obtained possession of a single fortress, the revolutionary army was rent into as many different factions as

there were Capitani, or tribes, in its ranks. Two great parties, however, predominated; that of the Primates and Clergy who composed the Senate of Messenia, and who had nominally the charge of provisioning and paying the forces; and that of the military commanders, who were each anxious for the superintendence and honours of the war. A third faction consisted of Ipsylanti, with the Heterists and those who still entertained some hopes of assistance from Russia, and, as each of these had a different system of tactics and government, the councils of the chiefs presented one endless scene of turmoil, commotion, and intrigue. In the midst of this anarchy and confusion, the month of August arrived ere any remarkable advantage had been gained over the besieged garrisons. Fortunately, however, the Turks, in their confidence, had neglected to lay up sufficient supplies of provisions in their towns against any sudden emergency, and as their stores were successively exhausted, their famished defenders were compelled to surrender. The first which capitulated was the fortress of Arcadia, on the western coast of the Morea: to this succeeded Monemvasia, or Napoli di Malvasia, whose garrison submitted to Cantacuzene on the 3rd of August, and were transported in Spezziot ships to Samos, and thence landed, by their own request, at Ephesus. The Turks of Navarino were not, however, so fortunate; they capitulated a few days after their brethren of Monemvasia, but the Greeks, in spite of their treaty, no sooner got possession of the fortress, than they commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of the starving and enfeebled wretches, and put upwards of four hundred to the sword without mercy or reservation. Napoli di Romania, well provisioned, and strong in its natural position, still held out; and the other fortresses, Patras, Modon, and

A.D.
1821.Factions of
the Greeks.Capture of
Arcadia.
Monemvasia, and
Navarino.

A.D. 1821. The booty obtained by the Capitani was immense, for, independent of the wealth of Tripolizza itself, it was stored with the valuables of all the most affluent Moreots who had fled thither for protection on the bursting of the revolution.

On the 15th of October, ten days after its surrender, Ipsylanti arrived at Tripolizza from his expedition to the north-west of the Morea, where he had witnessed the destruction of Galaxida and Vostizza by the Turkish fleet. He found the city a fearful ruin, the very doors and windows having been carried off by the peasantry of the vicinity. The streets were choked up with the rubbish of the houses, and the air was thick and noisome with the stench of putrifying carcasses. He immediately issued a proclamation, couched in rather arrogant terms, convening a national assembly of the Greeks at Tripolizza on the 1st of the following month, to take into consideration the state of the nation and the war. This summons was obeyed with alacrity, but owing to the breaking out of an epidemic in the interim, the conference was transferred to Argos. This, however, being deemed too near the blockaded fortress of Napoli di Romania, the chiefs who had assembled took on themselves, without consulting the Prince, to remove to Piada, on the Gulf of Egina, (the ancient Epidaurus,) where the congress opened on the 15th of November. Maurocordato, who had been invited from Northern Greece to attend, was enthusiastically hailed on his arrival by the chiefs who had collected, and, to the disappointment of Ipsylanti, who had expected that honour for himself, was nominated president of the meeting. On this pointed mark of disrespect, Ipsylanti retired in disgust from the assembly, and repaired to take the command of the troops besieging Corinth, which surrendered to him on the 22nd of January.

First
national
assembly of
the Greeks.

The Congress of Epidaurus consisted of sixty deputies from the islands of the Morea and Roumelia; they instantly proceeded to draw up a declaration of Independence which was promulgated on the 1st of January 1822, and towards the close of the same month the committee appointed to frame a constitution for the new state presented the result of their labours, which received the sanction of the Congress.* The provisional government was vested in a senate or legislative body composed of deputies from the provinces annually elected, and an executive power consisting of five members chosen from the former. The civil and criminal code, which was left open for amendment and extension, was to be regulated by the Basilics; and the laws of commerce by those in force in France. The faith of the orthodox Oriental Church was declared the established religion of Greece, and full toleration was proclaimed for all other creeds or forms of worship. Maurocordato was nominated to the Presidency of the executive body; that of the legislative was offered to, but declined by, Ipsylanti, and finally conferred on Mauro-Michali; and the assembly being dissolved, the newly constituted authorities set about the task of organizing the nation, and preparing for the ensuing campaign.

A.D.
1822.
Proceed-
ings of the
Congress of
Epidaurus.

New Con-
stitution.

On reviewing the events of this the first year of the revolt, we cannot avoid being struck with the rapid progress made by the insurgents. The entire of the open country of the Morea, its capital, and three of its fortresses were already in their hands, and the remaining strongholds closely beset by their troops. Macedonia and Thessaly had evinced the warmest enthusiasm in the cause of liberty; and in particular the

Review of
the events
of the past
year.

* A copy of this Constitution in the original, accompanied by an English translation, was published by Mr. Murray, 8vo. London, 1823.

A.D. inhabitants of Mount Athos and the promontory of
1822. Cassandra had suffered severely for their patriotism. Acarnania, Livadia, Ætolia, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, Attica, Eubœa, and the principal islands of the Ægean, were all in arms; and already a fleet was at sea sufficient to overawe the admirals of the Sultan.

**Difficulties
of the
Porte:**

**and of the
Greeks.**

Both parties had during this year to struggle with extreme difficulties. The attention of the Turks was distracted to various points, in all which they had been taken unawares, and unprovided either with men or stores; and owing to the imperfections of their navy, which was long unfit to meet the Greeks at sea, they were unable to assist their forces in the Morea and the North, thus giving the Greeks at the outset of the revolution an advantage which they were never after able to recover. Added to this, their short-sighted policy in directing or sanctioning the outrages perpetrated on their Christian subjects in the peaceful districts, operated strongly against them in exasperating the minds of their Greek fellow-countrymen, and driving them to that fearful retaliation which characterized the first scenes of the war. The Greeks, on the other hand, were labouring under all the disadvantages arising from the want of tactics and military discipline, and the absence of any man of commanding talent to direct their operations, concentrate their forces, and reconcile the jarring factions of their various capitani and chieftains. They were totally destitute likewise of all the arms and artillery requisite for offensive warfare; and the continuing to keep the field for any length of time is solely attributable to the inability of the Porte to march any adequate force to the assistance of the distressed fortresses. In their first encounters, likewise, with their late masters, the insurgents betrayed all the timidity of the newly enfranchised slave, and it was only when suc-

cess had taught them confidence and self-respect that they began to act with determination and spirit. So rapid was their improvement, however, that a few months only elapsed from the first opening of the revolt till it lost altogether the character of a mere insurrectionary movement, and assumed the more important and determined air of a nation struggling with firmness and unanimity for their freedom; and this new aspect was now secured by the attempt to form an ostensible government, and to give stability to the conquests and acquisitions of the first campaign.

A.D.
1822.

The opening of the second year was signalized by the fall of Ali Pacha; driven from point to point, and deserted gradually by all his followers, the fallen tyrant had at last retired with about fifty faithful attendants to the citadel of Joannina. Here an attempt to betray him by Tahir Abbas, determined him at last to make offers of surrender to Kurchid Pacha. They were accepted with alacrity, and whilst the parties awaited the return of the Seraskier's Selicdar from Constantinople with the Sultan's approval, Ali was prevailed on to evacuate the citadel and retire to the island of the lake. Here he was waited on a few days after by a former friend, Mohammed, formerly Kiaya and now Pacha of the Morea, who came to offer him his condolence and services if necessary: Ali received his proffered kindness without suspicion, and rose to salute him at his departure, when the treacherous Turk took advantage of his inclined attitude, plunged his yataghan to his heart, and laid him lifeless at his feet. His head was conveyed to Constantinople and exposed in the court of the seraglio in the latter end of February 1822, after which it was purchased by one of Ali's early associates, Solyman Dervish, and interred with those of Mouctar, Veli, Salik, and his grandson Mahmoud, who had all suffered before him,

The opening of the second campaign.

Death of Ali Pacha.

A.D. 1822. on the side of the highway by the gate leading to Selyvria.

Plan of the Campaign. By the fall of this miscreant, the Porte was now at liberty to direct all its forces for the chastisement of the refractory rayahs. Omer Vriones was appointed to the pachalic of Joannina, and the entire direction of the war against the Greeks was committed to Kurchid Pacha. The plan of the Porte for the ensuing campaign was admirably well conceived: the troops lately employed in the siege of Joannina were to march against the Suliots, and having expelled them from their fortresses, to pour down upon Western Greece, recover Missolonghi, and be conveyed by the Ottoman fleet across the Gulf of Corinth to the Morea. A fresh army was to be raised in Macedonia and Thessaly, and marched by the pass of Thermopylæ upon Bœotia, and having reduced that province, together with Livadia and Attica, to pass the isthmus, recapture Corinth, and unite with the Western division at Tripolizza. To meet these threatened invasions, the Provisional Government prepared to dispatch a strong body of troops to Arta and Makrinoro, the Thermopylæ of Western Greece, in order to intercept the Epirot expedition; and a second to the vicinity of the Sperchius, to arrest the passage of the Thessalian division. The command of the latter was entrusted to Niketas, who set out immediately for Thermopylæ attended by Ipsylanti, who had declined all interference in the affairs of the government, and resigned the title of Generalissimo of Greece. Maurocordato, after visiting Hydra and getting the fleet sent out to sea, took upon himself the direction of the forces destined for Arta, and with a small corps of European Philhellenes, and about two thousand soldiers of the Government, took his departure for the North in the end of May. Colocotroni, who was besieging Pa-

War in
Western
Greece.

tras with two thousand followers, received orders to join him, but declined, and sent merely his son Panos with two hundred men, who with five hundred Mainotes under Kiriakuli, brother to Mauro-Michali, completed the armament with which the Prince set out for Missolonghi.

A.D.
1822.

Here he received intelligence from the Suliots of their desperate position, pressed on all sides by the Turks, and their ammunition and provisions failing rapidly; this was accompanied by an assurance that without immediate aid their fortresses must surrender. Marco Bozzaris, who was at the moment with the Prince for the purpose of procuring reinforcements, immediately set off for the mountains, and Maurocordato, having dispatched the Mainotes by sea to Fanari, near Parga, marched with all his forces to Komboti, near the opening of the pass of Makrinoro in the plain of Arta; he was joined on the route by the contingents of two chiefs of Athamania, Gogo Bakalos and Varnakiotis, but even with this reinforcement his forces did not exceed three thousand. The Turks, on his arrival at Komboti, promptly commenced the attack, but having succeeded in repulsing them, he proceeded to Peta, a position of remarkable strength in the neighbourhood of Arta. Here he was rejoined by Bozzaris, who had failed in his attempts to reach Suli, and a few days afterwards, on the 15th of July, the Turks, having rallied, renewed the attack with eight thousand men. The Athamanes under Gogo turned to flight on the first onset, followed by the soldiers of Varnakiotis; the Moreots, struck with the same panic, instantly deserted their position, and the Suliots and the Philhellenes alone sustained the attack. The former escaped with difficulty, but the latter being completely surrounded by the Turks, two-thirds of their number, and all their

*Distress of
the Suliots.*

*The Battle of
Peta.*

A.D.
1822.

officers were cut to pieces on the field. The fugitives reassembled at Langadi, and Maurocordato, despairing of farther success, retreated to Vrachori. He spent some months in vain attempts to retain possession of Acarnania, and at length, deserted by his traitorous Athamanes, he returned in the beginning of October to Missolonghi. The Mainotes, who had landed at Phanari, had no better success; in their attempt to reach Suli they were intercepted by a body of Turks, far superior to themselves in number; they ventured an action, but being totally routed, and having lost their leader Kiriakuli, they retreated precipitately to their ships, and rejoined the main body of the Prince.* The advance of the Turks into Acarnania was now inevitable as soon as the fall of Suli would permit the Seraskier to draw off his troops and march to the South; and Maurocordato, aware of his danger, set himself with all expedition to fortify Missolonghi, and prepare for their reception.

Destruction
of Scio.

The inhabitants of Scio, as has been already mentioned, had manifested from the first commencement of the revolution an unwillingness to co-operate with its supporters; they had declined the overtures of the Greek Admiral, and had unhesitatingly sent hostages to Constantinople as securities for their loyalty. The island continued perfectly peaceful till the middle of March 1822, when a band of turbulent Samians having landed at the South-eastern extremity were joined by some imprudent Sciots, who instantly attacked the Turks, defeated a small body of troops sent against

* The Suliots, thus bereaved of all hopes of succour, retired in despair to the fortress of Kiaffa, where they contrived to hold out till September, when, their stores being exhausted, they surrendered to Omer Vrionas, and were transported in British vessels to the Ionian Islands.

them by Vehid Pacha, and finally drove them and the garrison for refuge to the citadel. They had, however, no means to pursue their advantage farther; the mass of the Sciot population were averse from their proceedings, the insurgents were totally destitute of arms and ammunition, and were merely enabled to maintain a useless blockade, when on the 11th of April the Turkish fleet of thirty-three sail, under the Capitan Pacha Ali, a Candiot, appeared off the town, dispersed the insurgents, relieved the citadel, and instantly set about chastizing the rebels. The details of the terrific retribution which he exacted are still fresh in the recollections of Europe; six thousand men were landed from the fleet, and on the fourth day after his arrival, having lulled the Sciots into security by professions of clemency, and induced the revolted peasantry to surrender their arms, he dismissed his followers throughout the island and issued his orders to kill and exterminate. Of a population of eighty thousand, one fourth were massacred in the houses, and about twenty thousand of the youngest and most beautiful carried off to be sold for slaves throughout the cities of Asia. Of the remainder, the majority escaped to Ipsara and the adjacent coast, a few succeeded in preserving their lives by concealing themselves in the mountains of the interior; and when the Capitan Pacha sailed for the coast of Natolia he moved from a shore where not a living form was visible, a thin column of smoke curled upwards from the ruins of Scio, and silence, desolation, and death reigned throughout the lately beautiful and opulent island.

A.D.
1822.

Massacre of
the inhabitants.

The ferocious author of this unearthly crime, the Capitan Pacha, remained for some time in the vicinity of Scio to dispose of his spoils, where he was shortly after attacked by Tombazis and the Greek fleet, who

A.D. 1822. arrived immediately after the massacre; their efforts, however, were ineffectual, and Tombazis was finally obliged to withdraw his squadron and hasten to the protection of Candia, which Mahomet Ali of Egypt was threatening to invade. It was in this emergency that Constantine Kanaris, the distinguished Ipsariot, offered his services to the Government to sail with a fire-ship and attempt the destruction of the Ottomans. He entered the Straits on the night of the 22d of June, and guided by the lights of the fleet passed along the Turkish line till he had gained the anchorage of the largest vessels; just then the rising moon served to show him the flag-ship of the Turkish Admiral, on which he bore directly down, steered full on the prow of the Pacha, fired his train with his own hand, and escaped uninjured in his boat, whilst almost instantaneously the huge ship was wrapped in flames from stem to stern. The Admiral, attempting to escape in his pinnace, was crushed by the fall of the blazing mast, and perished, with all his equipage, amidst the scenes of his late atrocities. Of the twelve hundred men who were on board his vessel a few only were picked up by their companions, and amongst those who sunk were some of the most distinguished captives who had been carried off from Scio.

Death of the Capitan Pacha.

Siege of Napoli di Romania. The earliest attention of the Provisional Government, which had fixed its seat at Corinth, was directed to the reduction of Napoli di Romania; they had made several attempts to take the city by assault, but having failed in all, they were at length compelled to proceed by the slow but certain measure of a blockade. Several months of tedious delay had already elapsed, but in June, the provisions of the fortress beginning to fail and no succour appearing by sea, the garrison proposed to capitulate; the terms were agreed on, and the Turks

were to give up possession in a few days, when the intelligence arrived of the march of the Ottoman army towards Eastern Greece. Kurchid Pacha, wearied with the protracted siege of Suli, had at last transferred the conduct of the forces encamped before it to Omer Vriones, and having assembled an army of thirty thousand men at Larissa, he gave the command of these as an advanced guard to Mahmoud, Pacha of Drama, in Thessaly, or, as he is usually termed, Drama Ali, who early in July moved onwards towards Thermopylæ, whilst Kurchid himself waited to collect the remainder of his army. Odusseus, who had charge of the passes in the north of Bœotia, gave way as Mahmoud advanced,* and his whole host of barbarians, having thus obtained an undisputed passage, poured themselves over Livadia and Attica, plundering, massacring, and destroying. Leaving Athens, which had a few weeks before surrendered for the second time to the Greeks, to the left, they passed the Isthmus on the 13th of July, occupied Corinth, which was deserted by the garrison on their approach, entered Argos unopposed, and thence proceeding over the plain of Tyrinthus relieved the garrison of Napoli di Romania.

A.D.
1822.

Invasion of
the Morea
by Drama
Ali.

The Greek leaders, whose factions had gained a dangerous height during the preceding months, seized with the utmost alarm at the present emergency, gladly laid aside their animosities and united for the common security. An army was instantly collected from the Morea, and its command entrusted to Ipsylanti, Colocotroni, and Mauro-Michali, whilst the Government embarked

* Thermopylæ has long ceased to present the impregnable barrier to invasion which it afforded in the early ages of Greece; the new land formed at the mouth of the Sperchius rendering it easy for an army, provided with means to cross the river, to turn the pass to the eastward. See vol. i. of this History, p. 44. note.

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1822.

on board the Hydriot fleet which lay at anchor in the Argolic bay.

Precau-
tions of the
Greeks.

The first measure adopted by the military chiefs was to burn all the provisions and crops in the vicinity of the Turks, and Ipsylanti attempted, but in vain, to hold possession of the citadel of Argos; he was obliged to retreat on the advance of Drama Ali, and took up his quarters with Colocotroni at Mylos, on the Lernean Marsh. The enemy had scarcely arrived at Napoli ere they began to feel the awkwardness of their position; the passes both in front and rear were occupied by the Greeks, against whom their cavalry was of no avail in the midst of the swamps of the Argolic plain; the rich crops which they had expected to reap had all been destroyed, and Drama Ali found himself suddenly surrounded by a rude half-disciplined army, without provisions or military stores, and hemmed in on every side by a formidable and exasperated enemy. To attempt proceeding to Tripolizza was madness, the only resource was a retreat, and he instantly put his army in motion towards Corinth; the only entrance thither was through the passes of Barbati and Dervenaki, which were closely beset by Niketas and Colocotroni. There was, however, no other alternative, and on the 6th of August Mahmoud boldly entered the defile; the Greeks, as concerted, opened a tremendous fire from the heights above, but the Turks still pushed forward beneath a shower of bullets, every one of which took effect on the dense and terrified mass below; the derven as they advanced grew at every step more confined and difficult, whilst Niketas with six hundred men hung upon their march and mowed them down by hundreds. The Pacha and about eight thousand soldiers succeeded in gaining the plain of Corinth, but his farther retreat was cut off by Odusseus, who had taken possession of Thermopylæ

Retreat
and dis-
comfiture
of the
Turks.

and the other passes between him and Kurchid Pacha ; three thousand of his troops, after enduring extreme privations, attempted to fly to Patras, but being intercepted by Londos, a Greek chief, surrendered their arms and were permitted to retire to the North ; the remainder continued to hold possession of Corinth till October in the following year,* when they surrendered to the Greeks. Kurchid, on the intelligence of the disasters of Mahmoud, hastened to his assistance, but was completely checked and driven back by Odusseus at Dadi ; he retreated in the utmost chagrin, and in despair at the failure of his splendid designs terminated his life by poison.

A.D.
1821.

The Turkish fleet, which after the exploit of Kanaris had long hesitated to put to sea, at last sailed for Patras, landed a few troops, and took on board Kara Mohammed, the individual who had obtained the office of Capitan Pacha ; it then sailed to Napoli di Romania with the intention of relieving the garrison, who were again hardly pressed, and on the 20th of September appeared off the island of Spezzia. The Greeks, under the command of Miaoulis, one of the most intrepid and patriotic individuals whom the Revolution has produced, took up a position, with some fire-ships, across the mouth of the bay of Argos on their approach ; and so terrified were the Turks with the late exploit off Scio that they dared not attempt a passage, but after a short delay bore off for Crete, and thence removed to Tenedos. Here Kanaris again arrived with his fire-ship on the 21st of October, and succeeded in burning the vessel of the Admiral, who with difficulty escaped in his boat, but his entire crew were consumed in the explosion. The fleet, thoroughly terrified by this

Naval
affairs.

Victory of
Kanaris at
Tenedos.

* Drama Ali died in October of an epidemic then prevalent in Corinth.

A.D. 1822. daring attack, hastily raised their anchors and retreated to the Dardanelles, thus putting a precipitate close to the naval events of the campaign. Their departure seemed to destroy all the hopes of the garrison of Napoli; they continued, however, to hold out till every edible article was consumed, and at length, on the 12th of December, the Greeks having got possession of the fort of the Palamedei, which the Turks had no longer strength to defend, they surrendered, and were conveyed on board H. M. S. the Cambrian, Captain Hamilton, to the coast of Asia Minor. The possession of this town was the most valuable acquisition yet made by the insurgents; since, as a situation for the Government, as a depôt for military stores, and a central point for commerce, it possessed advantages superior to any town of the Peninsula.

Fall of Napoli di Romania.

First siege of Missolonghi.

The surrender of the Suliots in September had left Omer Vrones at full leisure to undertake his meditated expedition against Missolonghi. His army, amounting to 12,000 men, under his own command and that of Redschid Pacha, arrived on the 7th of November before the town, and commenced the siege. Fortunately, by the precautions of Maurocordato and Marco Bozzaris, it had been well provisioned, and put in a good condition for defence. The Pachas in their attacks were never either very vigorous or successful, and the Prince continued to render them still less enthusiastic by sowing dissensions amongst them; talking of a surrender and professing to treat privately with the commanders on terms favourable to each. By this means he gained sufficient time for the arrival of a small squadron from Hydra, which threw into the town a reinforcement of 1000 fresh soldiers under Mauro-Michali and Londres. The Turks, informed of this event, penetrated at once the policy of Maurocordato,

and resolved to bring the struggle to an issue by one vigorous and simultaneous attack. This plan was to be put in execution on the eve of Christmas,* but the Greeks having intimation of their design, were prepared at every point; the Turks commenced the assault before day-break, but were repulsed with terrific slaughter, and as the sun rose, the plain was seen covered with their retreating parties, whilst a ridge of dead who had fallen in the onset lay in a semicircle beneath the walls of Missolonghi. The flying army was followed and harassed by the Suliots under Marco Bozzaris as far as the Achelous, which they passed with heavy loss, thus putting a close to the campaign of 1822.

A.D.
1822.

Defeat of
the Turks.

The acquisitions of this year, however important in themselves, had added nothing in extent to the territory of the liberators. The double necessity of acting on the defensive as well as the offensive had naturally confined their operations to a few points, and towards the close of the year they were compelled to break the blockade of the fortresses by the necessity of repelling the invasions of Western Greece and the Argolis. Nor had their internal difficulties in any degree diminished; the authority of the Government was utterly disregarded by Colocotroni, and the principal chiefs of the Morea; the fidelity of Odusseus, who had the chief command in the Eastern provinces, was extremely doubtful; and both parties were jealous and dissatisfied with the preponderance which the civil leaders of the revolution had assumed in the administration. Added to all this there was a manifest want of talent amongst the prominent characters, military as well as diplomatic, and the revenue of the country was still too limited to purchase the services of European allies. Still it cannot fail to excite our astonishment to see the resources of a pow-

A.D.
1823.
Review of
the events
of the cam-
paign.

* January 5, 1823.

A.D.
1823.

erful empire set at nought, its authority overturned, and its armies successfully opposed during two succeeding years by the inhabitants of an impoverished province, by a junto of individuals denominating themselves a Government, but possessing neither a navy,* an army, cavalry, artillery, magazines, hospitals, or a military chest. Ignorant of the use of the bayonet, and unacquainted with discipline, the forces of the nation could only meet their enemies by land in a kind of guerilla warfare, and attempt their fortresses by blockading cordons; whilst by sea their sole dependence was on their brulotiers and fireships, their small craft being totally unable to encounter the heavy metal of the Turks' line-of-battle ships and frigates. Under these circumstances the causes of their success are of course to be sought chiefly in the weakness of their opponents. By land the latter were equally devoid of skilful commanders with the Greeks; their armies, too, were rent into similar factions by their leaders, and the feelings of their undisciplined soldiery, of whom a large proportion were forced against their will to join the march, were naturally estranged from their rulers by the irregularity of their pay and the deficiency of their commissariat. Their navy, deprived of the services of the islanders, was manned with untrained landsmen and unskilful Europeans, the refuse of the Adriatic and Mediterranean merchantmen, and their admirals were in general persons elected by interest to the office, and totally unacquainted with the simplest naval affairs, much less the conduct of an extensive fleet. Besides all this, the Greeks had an important protection in the

Difficulties
of the
Greeks

and the
Turks.

* The ships in the service of the Greeks, it will be remembered, were still the private property of the merchants of the islands; and the army composed of the followers of independent chiefs who had taken upon themselves the responsibility of its payment and support.

nature of their country, and more particularly the Peloponnesus, whose mountain passes and narrow defiles, though admirably suited to Kleftic warfare, were impracticable to cavalry, and ruinous to any save native troops accustomed to their rugged paths, and inured to hardship and fatigue.

A.D.
1823.

The protraction of the war was likewise in itself a source of strength to the insurgents, the confidence and enthusiasm of the nation being kept alive by success, and encouraged and confirmed by the sympathy with their cause, which was manifested by almost every nation of Europe. The military operations of 1823 were confined almost exclusively to Northern Greece, where the plan of the Turkish campaign was nearly similar to that of the preceding year. Mustafa, Pacha of Scodra, who had succeeded Kurchid in the direction of the war, was to raise a fresh army in Thessaly. Of this, one division, under his own command, was to penetrate the defiles of Pindus, and, being joined by troops collected in Western Greece by Omer Vriones and Youseph of Patrass, who had succeeded Redschild, was to proceed to lay siege to Missolonghi. A second, led by Berkofzali Pacha, was to descend through Livadia to Galaxidi, on the Gulf of Corinth, and having formed a junction with Mustafa, their united forces were to march to the relief of Corinth and the recovery of the Morea.

Plan of the
third
campaign.

Whilst these preparations were in progress, the Provisional Government convened a second national assembly at Astros, the maritime frontier of Argolis and Laconia. The influence of Maurocordato had sensibly declined during the past year, through the machinations of the Moreot faction, who had from the first ridiculed his assumption of the military character, in placing himself at the head of the expedition to Western Greece.

National
assembly at
Astros.

A.D.
1823.

Its proceed-
ings.

The defeat of Peta, and the failure of his operations in Acarnania, had been all magnified and misrepresented, and Negris, his former associate, was induced to join the cabal against him. On the assembling of the deputies he was accordingly received with marked coldness; Mauro-Michali and the Bishop of Brasthena were chosen President and Vice President of the congress, and the office of secretary was conferred upon Negris. The proceedings of the assembly were nearly a repetition of those of Epidaurus: a formal declaration of independence was reiterated; the laws underwent a partial revision; some acts were passed which tended to restrict the power of the naval and military commanders; the local assemblies, or gerusia of particular districts, were abolished; a negotiation was opened with the exiled Knights of St. John;* authority was given to a commission to negotiate a loan on the security of the evkafs, or church property wrested from the Turkish mosques, and a commission was sent to London for the purpose of conferring with the Greek Committee on its practicability. Mauro-Michali was elected president of the Executive, and George Conduriotti, a wealthy merchant of Hydra, president of the Legislative Body. Maurocordato was nominated Secretary of State, and Colocotroni and Marco Bozzaris commanders-in-chief of the Morea and Western Greece. The military party having thus gained an ostensible ascendancy, the congress was dissolved on the 30th of April; the seat of the Government was transferred to Tripolizza, and the various chiefs dispersed to prepare for meeting the advance of the Turks.

The proceedings of the Pachas were so tardy that it

* The details of the curious negotiation will be found in the Memoirs of M. Jourdain, who acted as one of the deputation to the Order. Vol. i. c. xi. p. 187.

was the latter end of June ere they were prepared to put the several divisions in motion. Youseph of Patras had been completely thwarted in his attempts to raise the Albanians, by the intrigues of Omer Vriones, and when, in the beginning of August, he set out to join the forces of Mustafa, his followers mutinied, and, to a man, joined the standard of Omer, whilst Youseph retired in disgust to Patras. The only effectual opposition to the advance of the invading army was that made by the Suliots under their intrepid leader Marco Bozzaris. He defeated a body of troops landed at Kriounerio by Youseph, and intended to reinforce the army of the Seraskier; and hearing that Mustafa himself, with 12,000 men, was in motion towards Western Greece, he hastened to intercept his march, and on the 17th of August, at midnight, attacked his camp at Carpenisi with 2000 Suliots. A brief and tumultuous action ensued; the Turkish army was thrown into utter confusion, and dispersed in all directions, leaving a large quantity of baggage and vast numbers of slain upon the field. The victory was complete, but it was dearly purchased—the Leonidas of Modern Greece, the heroic Marco, fell near the tent of the Seraskier, struck down by a random shot, and lived only to see the triumph of his party and the total rout of the Ottomans. Several weeks elapsed ere Mustafa succeeded in reassembling his scattered forces, and being at length joined by the division of Omer, he descended into the plains of Ætolia, established a communication with Lepanto and Patras, and in the second week of October commenced the siege of Anatolico, as preparatory to an attack upon Missolonghi. This little outpost, which contained about 1500 inhabitants and refugees, was defended only by 400 men; yet such was the cowardice of the Seraskier, that he hesitated to attack it by storm. He

A.D.
1823.

Battle of
Carpenisi.

Death of
Marco Bozzaris.

Siege of
Anatolico.

A.D.
1823.

continued for about a month to assault it from a distance with bombs, scarcely one of which took effect; and at length, being straitened for provisions, and becoming alarmed for the safety of his communication with the north, he abruptly abandoned the siege, and on the 20th of November made a precipitate retreat, leaving several pieces of cannon and a quantity of stores to the Greeks. He retraced the passes unmolested, Omer Vrionis retired to Arta, and the Seraskier, having disbanded his Albanians, the campaign in Western Greece was thus disgracefully terminated.

Campaign
of Eastern
Greece.

The proceedings to the east of Pindus were scarcely more successful: the division of Berkofzali passed Thermopylæ in the beginning of June, and having penetrated as far as Athens, dispersed itself over Attica and Livadia, plundering and destroying. Odusseus, who had got command of the Acropolis, after in vain expecting reinforcements from the Morea, sallied out with 600 men, and being joined by Niketas with a similar band, they landed near Salona, assembled a number of the peasantry, and so harassed the army of Berkofzali, that he made a hasty retreat into Eubœa. Here he was followed by Odusseus, who drove the Turks from the open country, and finally blockaded them in the fortresses of Caristo and Negropont. In the Morea the only advantage gained this year was the surrender of Corinth, which capitulated to Staikos and Georgaki Kizzo, brother to the beautiful Basiliké, the wife of Ali Pacha. The siege of Patras was pursued with but little ardour, and yet its reduction was of the utmost importance, since as long as it was in the hands of the Turks, its vicinity to the Corinthian Gulf rendered it of essential service in facilitating the transfer of troops to or from the northern districts. By sea the operations of both parties were extremely trifling, as it

Naval operations of
1823.

was late in the year ere either fleet had sailed from their respective harbours; the Turkish squadron, however, had the start of the Greeks, and succeeded in victualling Modon, Coron, and Patras, and some of the fortresses on the eastern coast, ere the others had put to sea. Some actions of minor importance occurred between Miaoulis and the Capitan Pacha, in which the latter was uniformly successful; and the Turkish fleet, having been disappointed in its designs on some of the islands, retired in the latter end of September within the Dardanelles. Candia still continued to resist, but the insurgents having never succeeded in gaining possession of a single fortress, they were easily dispersed on the appearance of an Egyptian squadron during the summer.

A.D.
1823.

The dissensions of the Government and the military chiefs had in the mean time been productive of most disgraceful excesses: Negris, who had been ousted from office by the partisans of Maurocordato, immediately formed a coalition with Colocotroni and the military chiefs, who threatened to convoke an assembly of their own immediate friends, and form a new administration. To prevent so violent a measure, the Executive body were compelled to appease Colocotroni by the offer of their Vice-Presidency, which he readily accepted, renewed professions of amity, and returned to the army. Conduriotti, however, displeased with this proceeding, immediately vacated the Presidency of the Senate, and this being conferred on Maurocordato, excited afresh all the resentment of Colocotroni, who forthwith returned to Tripolizza, and compelled the Prince to fly for protection to Hydra. In the midst of these disgraceful quarrels the army of the Peloponnesus allowed the summer to pass away in the most shameful inactivity, not only neglecting the reduction of the besieged

Dissensions
of the
Chiefs.

A.D.
1823.

Civil war.

fortresses, but making no exertions to check the invasion of Eastern Greece by the army of Berkofzali. During the entire course of the year dissensions continued to rage with increased acrimony. The Senate and the Executive were each divided into two parties, and at length, in December, an open rupture ensued; the Senate, under the protection of the islanders, assembled at Cranidi, in the southern extremity of the Argolis, proceeded to depose the Executive, and early in January 1824, elected a new body, of which Conduriotti was nominated President. The expelled members, relying on the co-operation of the military chiefs, continued to assert their authority, and held possession of Tripolizza, Corinth, and Napoli di Romania, which they refused to surrender. A civil war was thus virtually commenced; on the one side were Colocotroni, with the connexions of his family, the Delhi Yanni of Caritena, Mauro-Michali, and the majority of the army; on the other Maurocordato, the greater number of the Legislative body, the islanders, and proprietors of the fleet, the inhabitants of Western Greece, and a large proportion of the Moreots. Odusseus, who held possession of Athens, and had effected a partial organization throughout Livadia, professed a perfect neutrality, and strongly recommended reconciliation. The Cranidiots, as the anti-military faction were termed, having ascertained their strength, summoned Panos Colocotroni to surrender Napoli di Romania, and on receiving a haughty refusal, commenced hostilities by closely blockading the fortress by land and sea. Maurocordato, in the interim, unable to render any service to the Government, had returned to resume the command of Western Greece, and arrived at Missolonghi a few days after the departure of Mustafa Pacha.

Disasters seemed now rapidly gathering round the cause of the Greeks; internally their circumstances were discouraging in the last degree, and externally they were threatened with a new, and more formidable enemy than they had yet been fated to encounter. Mohammed Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, had been induced by the Porte to unite his land forces, as well as his fleet, with those of the Sultan, for the suppression of the revolution, and was already making extensive preparations for taking the field on the opening of the approaching campaign. The announcement of this impending danger served, in a remarkable degree, to excite the sympathy of Europe. A loan of 800,000*l.* had, without difficulty, been negotiated in England, and, previously to its arrival, the Government had received assurances of pecuniary support from various quarters, and liberal advances from some generous individuals, amongst the rest from Colonel Gordon of Cairness, and Lord Byron, who, in January 1824, arrived in Western Greece, and, after a few months enthusiastically but fruitlessly devoted to the cause of liberty, expired at Missolonghi on the 19th of April following. Numerous other individuals of influence and patriotism had likewise embarked in the struggle, and its issue was now regarded by all Christendom with the most intense anxiety, not unmingled with apprehension. Fortunately for the revolutionists, who, during the continuance of these civil broils, were ill prepared to meet any vigorous attack, the military movements of the Turks were this year conducted with little spirit, owing principally to the misunderstanding existing between the Porte and the Pachas; so that their operations were confined almost exclusively to the naval expedition of the belligerents. The plan of the campaign was nearly similar to those of the preceding years; eastern and Western Greece

A.D.
1824.

Egyptians
unite
against the
Greeks.

Commence-
ment of the
campaign
of 1824.

A.D. 1824. were to be laid waste by armies assembled in Albania and Thessaly, and the reduction of the Morea was to be entrusted to the Egyptians.

Suppression of the civil war.

It would be painful, and, at the same time, uninteresting, to enter with minuteness into the details of the quarrel between the members of the Provisional Government and the military chiefs, or *Avrápτοι*, as they were denominated by the Greeks. During the winter and spring, hostilities continued unabated between the contending factions; but at length, in the summer, the party of the Senate, aided by the Capitani of Roumelia, prevailed; Corinth, Tripolizza, and Napoli di Romania were successively surrendered, and, one by one, the rebellious chiefs submitted to the Government, and were shortly after sentenced to exile, and confined in one of the monasteries of Hydra. Order and tranquillity were again restored, and the newly-elected Executive was supported as well by the arms as the wishes of the nation.

The Turkish fleet, owing to the extraordinary exertions of Husref, the new Capitan Pacha, sailed from the Dardanelles in the beginning of June, and having succeeded in provisioning Negropont, and made a short cruise in the north of the Archipelago, it took on board Albanian troops at Salonika, and rendezvoused, with one hundred and fifty sail, at Mitylene, whence it proceeded to attack the island of Ipsara. Unfortunately, the Hydriot fleet was not yet in condition to put to sea: its equipment had been delayed from want of funds, and although the first instalment of the loan had arrived at the Ionian Islands in April, the commissioners to whom it was entrusted considered it imprudent, during the continuance of the civil war, to deliver it into the hands of either of the contending factions. It was, consequently, withheld till July, when order being in a great degree

restored, it was handed over to the Provisional Government. But in the mean time the disastrous fate of Ipsara had been consummated. A.D.
1824.

The inhabitants of the island amounted at this period, together with refugees, to about 25,000, and, owing to their having hitherto escaped with impunity, notwithstanding the many appearances of the Ottomans off their shores, they were, at the moment of the Capitan Pacha's arrival, lulled in the most fatal security, their magazines unstored, their guns dismounted, and their batteries totally neglected and unserviceable. A scene similar to that lately acted at Scio instantly ensued; the Turks landed on the back of the island on the morning of the 3d of July, and suddenly appeared on the heights above the town; defence was impossible; the populace immediately rushed to the harbour and attempted to crowd on board the shipping, but vast numbers were drowned in the hurry and tumult which ensued: the Albanians, rushing down the hills towards the beach, commenced the slaughter. For two days the massacre and plunder were uninterrupted, and on the third the Pacha sailed for Salonica, leaving Ipsara a desert. In about four-and-twenty hours from the landing of the Ottomans the intelligence of this fresh disaster reached Hydra, and in four days after, the fleet, heedless of all deficiencies, put resolutely to sea, and flew to avenge the massacre of their brethren. Miaoulis arrived with forty brigs and fireships at Ipsara, and instantly landing thirty men from each vessel, drove the garrison left by Husref from the island; then attacking a squadron of twenty vessels which was cruising off the coast, he burned one brig of war, took two goelettas, and pursued the remainder to Scio, where, in their trepidation, they were stranded on the island, and upwards of 1000 men perished. He then returned to Ipsara, re-embarked his

Destruction of Ipsara.

Victory of Miaoulis.

A.D. 1825. fully opposed at the passes of Mount Cnemis by the Roumeliots, he abandoned the attempt, and retreating to Zeitouni, put a close to the campaign.

Situation of the Greeks at the opening of the 5th campaign. The situation of Greece at the commencement of 1825 was one in every way gratifying to the feelings of the philanthropist and the patriot; every branch of her administration, civil and military, seemed to have acquired strength and permanence by the successful continuance of the revolutionary struggle. The Govern-

The government. ment was universally respected and obeyed, their councils had been freed from the contamination of the factious and the disaffected amongst the chieftains, and the whole available forces of the nation were thoroughly at the disposal of the ministry, with the exception of the clans of Livadia, whose allegiance, and that of their leader, Oduasseus, was extremely dubious. The conduct of the latter had never, in fact, been thoroughly free from suspicion; his early connexion with Ali Pacha, and his continued relations with the Turks of Negropont, having served to render him obnoxious to the members of the Provisional Government, for whom he had always expressed the utmost contempt, and to whose orders he had on more than one occasion gone in direct opposition. His lieutenant, Goura, who had succeeded him as governor of Athens, had, however, become a firm adherent of the ministry, and was maintained by them in his command in Attica as a check upon the conduct of his old friend, who had fixed his headquarters, with his family and retainers, in a singular cave which he had fortified upon the brow of Parnassus.

The loan. The arrival of the first loan, and the negotiation of a second for two millions sterling, had applied a universal panacea to the grievances of all parties; the sectional dissensions of the Moreots, the Roumeliots, and Islanders, were, at least in appearance, appeased; an effective

judiciary system had been established throughout the recovered provinces; tactics and military discipline had been successfully introduced into the army, and a corps of guards was already formed at Napoli di Romania, drilled and appointed on European models; schools, on the Lancasterian system, were established in all the principal towns; and journals, issuing from the presses of Hydra, Athens, and Missolonghi, were disseminated throughout every district and island. The enthusiasm of the nation was universally excited, the Government was already in firm possession of an extended territory, the blockade of Patras was resumed, and such measures taken as promised in a brief period to place them in possession of the two trifling fortresses which the Turks still occupied in Messenia. With all these apparent advantages, however, the crisis of the insurrection had arrived; their good fortune was preparing to desert the Greeks; they had already obtained their last successes, and we have now to contemplate merely reiterated defeats, and the gradual loss of every advantage which had been so brilliantly won during the preceding years. The cause of these reverses is to be sought less, however, in the decline of ardour on the part of the Greeks, than in the increasing energy and improved resources of the Ottomans. In the North, the operations of the Roumeli Valesi, to whom the conduct of the war had been committed, were directed by Austrian engineers; in the Morea, the forces of the Egyptians were disciplined and commanded by French officers; and in all their expeditions the fleets of the Sultan were accompanied by European transports, to whom were entrusted every freight of importance, ammunition, stores, and specie. The interval between the close of the campaign of 1824 and the spring of the following year was spent by the Provisional Government in domestic arrange-

A.D.
1825.Internal
state of the
country.Causes of
their re-
verses.

A.D. ments, and the middle of January had arrived ere they
1825. were enabled to get a division of the fleet sent to sea to
 co-operate with a body of land forces in the blockade
Landing of of Patras. During this interim, Ibrahim Pacha, who
the Egyp- had sailed for Rhodes in December, was busily employ-
tians in the ed in preparing for his expedition to the Morea, and,
Morea. on the 24th of February he unexpectedly arrived at
 Modon, landed eight thousand men, and dispatched his
 fleet to Candia to transport the remainder of the army.
 On the arrival of this intelligence at Napoli the pre-
 parations against Patras were suspended, the troops
 marched in all haste towards the South of the Morea,
 and Conduriotti, who with Maurocordato had been on
 the route to superintend the blockade, suddenly turned
 off at Tripolizza and proceeded towards Modon, which
 now promised to be the first seat of war. In fact, on
 the 20th of March Ibrahim, having effected a second
 debarkation of troops, advanced at the head of fourteen
 thousand men, and commenced the siege of Navarino;
 the town contained a garrison of two thousand Greeks,
 under the command of the Archbishop of Modon and
 Joannes, son to Pietro Bey, and the artillery and forti-
 fications were entrusted to the Chevalier Collegno, a
 young Piedmontese engineer who had volunteered his
Siege of services. For some months the attention of the nation
Navarino. was exclusively directed to this important point; the
 Pacha made several assaults on the fortress but was
 invariably repulsed with loss, and he at length com-
 menced a regular siege under the directions of his
 European officers. The Roumeliots and a body of
 Moreots had, in the mean time, established themselves
 in strong positions in his rear, and frequent skirmishes
 took place with variable success till the 19th of April,
 when, in a formidable attack made by Ibrahim with all
 his forces on the lines of the Greeks, the Roumeliots

were routed and driven from their position with the loss of upwards of two hundred men. Their defeat, in this instance, they attributed to the cowardice of the Moreots, who had deserted their post in the beginning of the action; they loudly expressed their resentment, and taking advantage of a report that the Roumeli Valesi was marching against Missolonghi, they abandoned the camp, and in the latter end of April retired to the North. Aroused and alarmed by their departure, the Moreots now made fresh exertions to strengthen their forces, and in every district orders were issued for embodying fresh troops; but their efforts were in vain: Ibrahim, on the 8th of May, attacked and carried the little island of Sphacteria, which commands the harbour of Navarino, slaughtering three hundred and fifty soldiers who were stationed at a battery for its defence, and driving off a small Greek squadron which lay at anchor beneath the town. Two days after, the Castle of Pylos, or Old Navarino, capitulated, and the fortress being now assaulted both by land and sea, its provisions nearly exhausted, and no prospects of assistance, the garrison surrendered on the 23rd of May, and were conveyed in European vessels to Calamata, whilst Maurocordato and Conduriotti returned with all expedition to Napoli di Romania, in order to concert measures for checking the farther progress of the Egyptians.

A.D.
1826.

Defeat of
the Greeks.

Surrender
of the for-
tress.

Miaoulis, with his fleet, had in the mean time been acting with their usual spirit: on the 12th of May he had boldly entered the harbour of Modon and burned two frigates, eight corvettes, and some transports, in all about thirty sail, which lay at anchor beneath the walls. He then sailed towards Navarino, with the intention of attempting a similar exploit, but on the morning of the 26th of June he encountered, off Cape Matapan, the entire fleet of the Pacha, consisting of seventy sail,

- A.D.** which was on its way to Candia for fresh troops. For
1825. several days he was enabled to intercept its movements,
 but being obliged to return in order to victual his fleet,
 the Egyptians were permitted to pass on their way to
- Operations** Suda. Here they were shortly after joined by the fleet
of the fleet. of the Capitan Pacha, which had just issued from the
 Dardanelles, and had suffered a signal defeat off the
 island of Andros, where it was met by the Hydriot
 Vice-Admiral Saktouri, who, after a smart action, suc-
 ceeded in burning a line-of-battle-ship, two corvettes,
 and a frigate; the Capitan Aga perished in the conflag-
 ration, and five transports laden with corn and mili-
 tary stores, destined for Western Greece, were taken
 and conveyed to Spezzia. On the 14th of June, Mia-
 oulis, having united his division with that of Saktouri,
 attacked the Turco-Egyptian fleet without effect at
 Suda, and the following day his ships being driven off
 and dispersed by a storm, he was compelled to return to
 Hydra to reassemble them and refit.
- Affairs of** In Northern Greece, disasters had been accumulating
Western with equal rapidity; during the winter Omer Vriones
Greece. had been removed to the Pachalic of Salonika, that of
 Joannina being conferred on the Roumeli Valesi, Moham-
 med Redschi Kiutahi, to whom was likewise confided
 the direction of the war in Ætolia. Kiutahi had spent
 the spring in active preparations, and so early as the
 5th of April his advanced-guard of six thousand men
 traversed the passes of Makrinoro, and after some inef-
 fectual opposition from the Suliots and Roumeliots, ap-
 peared, on the 27th, before Missolonghi. The town
 was in as good a condition for defence as circumstances
 and its natural situation would permit, and the com-
 mand of the garrison, amounting to five thousand men,
 was committed to the Generals Stornaris, Makrys,
 Tzongas, Liakatas, and Dimotzelios. Some trifling

skirmishes occurred as the Turks attempted to take up their position, but at length, on the 5th of May, the Seraskier arrived with the remainder of his army, and opened his trenches before the walls. His forces now amounted to fourteen thousand men, but his battering artillery and stores, which he expected from Patras, not having arrived, his operations were tedious and unimportant. Divisions of his army had in the interim spread themselves over Ætolia and Livadia; here they met with little or no opposition, and were even said to have acted in concert with Odusseus, who shortly after surrendered to the Government, and demanded a trial on the charge; but was killed during the summer in attempting to effect his escape from the Acropolis, where he was confined. The Turks took up their quarters in the vicinity of Salona, which they had captured, but in the end of May the Roumeliot troops, who had left Navarino after their defeat in the attack of Ibrahim on the 19th of April, crossed the isthmus and encamped between Salona and Livadia, in order to observe their movements and check their farther progress; Kiutahi had likewise sent a body of troops into Bœotia to co-operate with the Pacha of Negropont in an attempt to invade Eastern Greece, but his communication with the different portions of his army being cut off by the arrival of the forces from the Morea, he resolved to curtail the plan of his campaign, and having recalled the detachments from Bœotia, he confined his attention exclusively to the reduction of Missolonghi.

A.D.
1825.

Siege of
Missolonghi.

On the arrival of Conduriotti and Maurocordato at Napoli di Romania from Navarino, they found the partisans of Colocotroni, and the Moreots in general, clamorous for the liberation of the rebel chiefs confined at Hydra; all the disasters of the spring were attributed to their absence, and without their being instantly

Colocotroni
put at the
head of the
army.

A.D.
1825.

placed at the head of the army, it was declared impossible to make any stand against the Egyptians. In this predicament no other resource remained to the Government than compliance with the wishes of the nation; overtures of reconciliation were made to Colocotroni and his companions and eagerly received, and on the 30th of May they were conducted to Napoli, welcomed with clamorous applause by the populace, and instantly furnished with authority and means to raise fresh forces and hasten to meet the Pacha, who was already preparing to sally from Navarino. Their exertions were prompt and successful; and by the 10th of June Colocotroni had assembled eight thousand men at Tripolizza, Gregorios Dikaïos had marched with a strong detachment to occupy the fortress of Arcadia, on the Western coast of the Morea, and Pietro Bey, who had collected a large body of his followers in Maina, waited only the first movements of Ibrahim to determine his march.

Ibrahim
Pacha takes
Tripolizza.

Scarcely had these arrangements been completed when the Pacha's army was again in motion; one division attacked and routed the troops stationed at Arcadia, and Dikaïos himself was found amongst the slain; whilst a second, headed by Ibrahim in person, marched upon Nisi and Calamata, the inhabitants of which fled in dismay on his approach, abandoning their flocks and property to his Arabs. The entire province of Messenia was now in the hands of the enemy; and on the 20th of June, after traversing with little opposition the passes of Leondari, Ibrahim arrived at Tripolizza, which the Greeks in their panic fired and deserted on his approach. Here he halted but a day or two, and hoping to take Napoli di Romania by surprise, he suddenly appeared, on the 25th of June, descending the hills towards the plain of Argos. Demetrius Ipsylanti, who

had been for some time living in retirement at Tripolizza, hasted in this emergency, as on the invasion of Drama Ali, to place himself at the post of danger; he was gladly welcomed by the army, and immediately occupied the little hamlet of Mylos, on the shores of the Argolic bay, with a small band of resolute soldiers. Ibrahim, on his advance, finding the Greeks prepared to receive him; and disappointed in his hopes of taking Napoli by surprise, made a trifling attack upon the mills, and returned unmolested to Tripolizza.

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1825.

The Egyptians at Napoli di Romania.

Nothing had yet shown the Greeks so clearly their real weakness and the superiority of their new enemy as this daring expedition of the Pacha; he had traversed without opposition the entire extent of the Morea; terrified and put to flight the boasted army of her chieftains; recaptured by a *coup de main* a fortress which they had been occupied six months in reducing; and, in the course of a few weeks, "annihilated the slight improvement which had been produced by three years exemption from the blighting presence of the Mussulmans." The nation seemed paralysed; the army, scattered through the mountains, shared in the general panic; and the Government, alarmed beyond measure at this sudden and overwhelming reverse, remained confounded, irresolute, and inactive. They now perceived but too clearly the impossibility of continuing any effective opposition to disciplined troops with their irregular bands of guerillas, and began to despair of farther success without some immediate external assistance. Their hurried deliberations on this head were, however, far from unanimous or satisfactory, the different members of the Government being divided in their sentiments as to the country on which they were to throw themselves for succour and protection; one party, consisting of the Hydriots and the

State of the nation.

A.D. 1825. islanders, with Maurocordato and some influential members of the Senate, were strongly in favour of an application to England; whilst a second supported, with equal energy, the claims of France, and urged the immediate offer of the throne to a member of the house of Orleans.

Continued ravages of Ibrahim.

Ibrahim, in the mean time, made an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate the North of Arcadia and advance to Patras, but being vigorously opposed by Niketas, the Turkophage, he was obliged to fall back upon his old position at Tripolizza; here he established his headquarters and remained for some weeks, whilst his forces were dispersed throughout the vicinity, plundering, burning, and destroying, till the surrounding country was reduced, by their wanton ravages, to a desert. It was in vain that Colocotroni and his wild soldiers attempted to oppose these excesses; the bayonets of the Egyptians, and their concentrated and well-directed fire invariably turned them to flight, and they could only hang in scattered parties around the mountain heights and look down with powerless rage on the smoke which curled upwards from the blazing villages and hamlets of the plains. The Pacha remained at Tripolizza till the middle of September, then leaving behind him a garrison of two thousand men under a French renegade, Suleyman Bey, he retraced his steps to Messenia, and encamped in the vicinity of Calamata to await the arrival of fresh reinforcements from Alexandria.

Progress of the siege of Missolonghi.

During the summer the operations of the Roumeli Valesi against Missolonghi, owing to the deficiency of his preparations, proceeded but slowly; even after the completion of his works he had delayed for a considerable time making any regular assault upon the defences of the town, and contented himself with destroying the houses by a continual discharge of bombs, which, whilst

they inflicted no injury on the garrison, who were stationed around the walls, caused fearful havoc amongst the women and children in the densely-crowded streets. Even by this petty warfare his ammunition was soon so far expended that his artillery commenced discharging rounded stones; but on the 10th of July the Turkish squadron having issued from Suda, succeeded in penetrating the Gulf of Corinth, and supplied his army with mortars, howitzers, battering cannon, and ample military stores. He now resumed the attack with redoubled vigour; but in every assault on the town his forces were successfully repulsed by the Greeks, who, in spite of several breaches effected in their walls by the springing of mines, were enabled to maintain their position till the 13th of October, when Kiutahi, foiled at all points, abruptly abandoned the siege, and drew off his forces to await the arrival of Ibrahim Pacha and the Egyptians, who were daily expected to his assistance from the Morea.

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1825.

Ibrahim had set out with this intention immediately on the receipt of reinforcements from Egypt. The Greek fleet had in vain attempted to prevent this fresh invasion; they had even ventured, but without success, to burn the vessels of the Pacha whilst at anchor in the harbour of Alexandria, and again they had hoped to intercept and destroy them at sea; but in all they were disappointed: the Hydriot squadron, when preparing to dispute their entrance into the port of Navarino, was deserted by the Spezziot and Ipsariot divisions; and Miaoulis, unable of himself to oppose the Egyptians, abandoned the attempt, and the hostile fleet of forty sail, conducting 100 transports, arrived unmolested on the 10th of November, and landed 10,000 infantry and 1200 horse, with stores and ammunition. These were immediately placed in garrison in the various fortresses,

Ibrahim
Pacha sets
out for
Northern
Greece.

A.D. and Ibrahim, having embarked the troops already in-
1825. ured to the service, dispatched them by sea to Misso-
longhi, and commenced his own march along the western
coast of the Peloponnesus.

On the 18th of November his fleet reached Misso-
longhi, and, in spite of some opposition from Miaou-
lis, landed all its stores and forces; and on the
25th of December, Ibrahim, having ravaged every
town and village in his progress, arrived by way of
Lepanto, and united his army with that of the Roumeli
Valesi. The combined strength of the besiegers now
amounted to nearly 30,000 men; and Ibrahim, con-
vinced of the advantages of a vigorous assault, in-
stantly commenced extended preparations, raised fresh
batteries, and day and night maintained an incessant
discharge of shot and shells against the devoted fortress.

Close of
the Fifth
Campaign.

Such was the melancholy position of affairs at the
close of the fifth campaign: the Morea was a desolated
waste; Western Greece was overrun by an army of
40,000 Arabs and Albanians; Livadia had been par-
tially recovered from the troops of the Seraskier, and
Salona was again in the hands of the Greeks, but Attica
and Boeotia were alone peaceful and comparatively
flourishing. The Government, unsettled and unpo-
pular, was unable to apply any remedy to the rapidly
accumulating evils by which the nation was beset; their
funds were exhausted, the entire produce of the two
loans which had reached Greece was completely ex-
pended, and it was only through private contributions
that they had any hopes of continuing the war, sup-
porting an army, or getting the fleet again to sea. A
portion of the second loan had been transmitted to
America for the purchase of ships of war, and a similar
sum had been set apart in England for fitting out a
frigate and some steam-vessels, of which Lord Cochrane

was to take the command, and were daily expected to arrive in the Mediterranean. The appearance of this long-talked-of expedition now served to support the drooping spirits of the Greeks; the fame of his Lordship's exploits had already reached their ears, and his advent was looked forward to as that of some superhuman deliverer. By the members of the Government, likewise, his arrival was expected with extreme impatience, since they ardently hoped that his influence would serve to reconcile those dissensions to which their present disasters were so mainly attributable. Scarcely one misfortune of the past year but was referable, in some degree, to these ruinous jealousies; and not only had they tended to cramp the exertions of the soldiery by land, but they had likewise served to impede the services of the navy, to whom the nation might clearly be said to be mainly indebted for all its previous victories, but which, in every instance, had been this year unsuccessful. No two parties of the nation were unanimous in their counsels, or co-operative in their execution: the Hydriots, the Spezziots, and Ipsariots were all at variance, and envious of their mutual influence; the inhabitants of Eastern and Western Greece were ill accorded amongst themselves, and professed the utmost contempt for the soldiers of the Peloponnesus; whilst the latter were rent into almost as many factions as districts. It appeared as if the fable of Cadmus was revived and verified in the very scene which poetry had assigned it—oppression, like the dragon's teeth, had produced its race of heroes, but they seemed to have arisen only for rivalry and mutual destruction.*

A.D.
1826.

State of the
Govern-
ment.

Dissen-
sions.

* Oh miseros Christaões ! Pela ventura,
Sois os dentes de Cadmo desparzidos,
Que huus aos outros se dão a morte_dura,
Sendo todos de hum ventre produzidos ?

Camoës, *Lusiada*, Can. vii. sta. 9.

A.D.
1826.

Distress
of Misso-
longhi.

For the moment, however, the attention of all parties was eagerly directed towards Missolonghi, where the issue of the struggle then pending was regarded with the most feverish impatience. By the liberality of some members of the Senate, and a few of the wealthy Hydriots, a small squadron of twenty-four brigs was got to sea in January, and proceeded with all expedition to the Gulf of Lepanto, with the hope of being enabled to throw some relief into the fortress, which was already severely straitened for ammunition and provisions. On the 20th they arrived off Missolonghi, and succeeded in landing their stores and corn ere the Turkish vessels stationed off Patras could arrive to intercept the disembarkation. The siege had now lasted upwards of a year, and the situation of the garrison and inhabitants was wretched in the last degree; the cold was intense, and the houses, shattered by the bombs of the Seraskier, afforded no protection from the bitter wind; their clothes were worn to rags, and their stock of fuel completely exhausted, whilst sickness was making hourly ravages amongst those whom famine and the sword had spared. They had consumed all their asses, camels, and beasts of burthen, and when the supplies were landed by Miaoulis, almost the last biscuits in the fortress were in the hands of their famishing children; still no voice had ever breathed surrender, but to the last of their blood and breath they were prepared to defend their shattered walls. Ibrahim, in the mean time, was pressing the siege with the utmost vigour, and address; and it was eagerly urged by the Government that the corps of regular troops, which now amounted to 3000, should be marched to the assistance of the Missolonghiots. This was, however, opposed by the French Colonel Favier, who had been appointed to their command, and who, in spite of the

wishes of the nation, set out on a Quixotic expedition for the capture of Negropont, in which he narrowly escaped destruction, and was only rescued from the Turks by the timely arrival of a few Ipsariot vessels, in which he made his escape from the island.

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1826.

Thus abandoned to its fate, the fall of the heroic garrison was no longer doubtful; the Egyptian Pacha, impatient of delay, attempted frequent assaults upon the walls, but being invariably repulsed with loss, and learning in February that the town only contained provisions for about thirty days, he abandoned all farther attacks, and employed his forces in establishing a rigorous blockade by land and sea. With a flotilla of a hundred and fifty flat-bottomed gun-boats, armed with mortars and heavy artillery, he overpowered the garrisons, and took possession of the islands, which command the lagunes before the town, Vasiladi, Nultma, Poros, Anatolico, and Clissova. Thus possessed of all the approaches to the harbour, it was no longer possible for the small Ionian craft, which had from time to time thrown provisions into the town, to approach the shore, nor could the inhabitants any longer venture out to fish on the flats, a resource on which they had hitherto been mainly dependant. Again the little squadron under Miaoulis attempted to break the blockade, but his efforts were all in vain, and the garrison having at length consumed their last rations, prepared to make a sortie from the now untenable fortress. The night of the 22d of April was fixed on for the desperate attempt: communications had been made with the Greeks beyond the Turkish lines, who were to attack the enemy in the rear, whilst their brethren made their sally from the town; and shortly after sunset the first division, consisting of about three thousand five hundred individuals, passed the fosse, and, in spite of the

last de-
fence of the
garrison.

A.D. 1826. deadly charge of a body of Turkish cavalry, and the repeated assaults of the Arabs, succeeded in gaining the mountains, with the loss of about four hundred men. The second division was less fortunate; it contained a large proportion of women and children, and had scarcely proceeded a few yards from the wall, when, panic-struck by the shouts of the advancing Albanians, it rushed back precipitately and re-entered the town, at the same instant that the enemy, now thoroughly roused, poured in from all quarters, and commenced the slaughter. The Mills, a large building in which some hundreds of the aged, the wounded, and the helpless were confined, was the first spot assaulted by the Arabs; allured, in all probability, by the expectation of plunder; but the helpless wretches within waited only till sufficient numbers had assembled round the building, and then firing a quantity of gunpowder which it contained, destroyed themselves and their besiegers in the terrific explosion. In like manner a mine dug under the bastion of Bozzaris, and charged with thirty barrels of powder, was sprung by a wounded soldier as the Turks crowded above him, and some hundreds perished in the ruins. A few hours sufficed to complete the massacre; even to the last some desperate heroes persisted in defending insulated spots, and fell piecemeal at their posts. Nearly three thousand Greeks were sabred in the streets; about the same number of children and females were carried off into slavery, and the Seraskier at length planted his blood-red flag above a heap of smouldering, putrifying ruins.

Capture of the fortress.

Third National Assembly.

The third assembly of the National Deputies was sitting at Epidaurus, where they had been convened on the 18th of April, when they learned the disastrous intelligence of the fall of Missolonghi. Though long anticipated, its announcement was listened to with alarm

and despair; it seemed the death-warrant of Grecian independence: the proceedings of the Congress were few and unimportant; they appointed a commission to attempt the negotiation of a loan at the Ionian Islands, passed some resolutions relative to the adoption of a monarchical government in the event of achieving their liberty; and unable, from the prevalence of factions, to venture on the election of a new administration, they appointed two commissions, the one consisting of twelve persons, for the regulation of the naval and military forces, and the conduct of the war; the other of thirteen, to whom were entrusted the civil regulation of the nation, and the management of the public revenue. The assembly was then adjourned till the following September, and the newly-appointed Commissions hastened to Napoli di Romania to commence their functions.

A.D.
1826.

Appoint-
ment of
governing
commis-
sions.

Ibrahim, on the fall of Missolonghi, had returned to Tripolizza, and spent a few weeks in ravaging Caritena, Andritzzena, and the valleys of Elis; he then made a fruitless attempt upon Mistra, and finally retired to his old quarters at Messenia, to await reinforcements expected from Egypt. Kiutahi, after delaying a few days in the captured city, marched towards Eastern Greece with all his forces, recovered Salona, and, in spite of the Roumeliots under Kariaskaki, who continually harassed and impeded his march, he arrived before Athens in the beginning of June, and instantly prepared to lay siege to the city. The Egyptian fleet retired at the same time to Navarino, and the Turkish to the Dardanelles, whence the return of the latter was anticipated with serious apprehension, a belief being generally prevalent that its efforts would next be directed against the naval islands. Four thousand Roumeliots were in consequence dispatched to Hydra, where a formidable attack was anticipated; and the inhabitants of

Fresh ra-
vages of
Ibrahim in
the Morea.

A.D.
1826.

Spezzia, which was ill-calculated for defence, abandoned their dwellings, and at the urgent recommendation of the Government betook themselves thither likewise. The new Commissions were thus supplied at once with ample scope for the exercise of their power, but, unfortunately, they were without the means of taking any available steps for averting the threatened danger; the coffers of the Government did not contain a single para. A public appeal was, however, successfully made to the patriotism of the nation; subscriptions and gifts poured in in liberal abundance; the horses of the primates and capitani were demanded and given up for the public service, and at no period was the enthusiasm of the people more eagerly or gratifyingly manifested. But, unfortunately, this generous display was partial and circumscribed; it was confined almost exclusively to the fortress of Napoli, the remainder of the Morea was sunk too deeply in misery to afford any effective service; and Northern Greece, with the exception of Attica, had again submitted to the Sultan. The islanders, too, reduced to ruin and despair, had abandoned the cause of their country, and thousands of them had betaken themselves to piracy throughout the Archipelago, and the impoverished Government was daily tormented by applications from the commanders of foreign vessels for restitution of violated property, and the surrender of accused individuals, whom they had neither the authority nor the means to arrest. The delinquents were in fact known to be protected and authorized in their lawless pursuits by the native consuls and other influential men in the islands, and their forcible seizure by the constituted authorities would have been next to impossible.

Ruinous
condition
of the
country.

On the first arrival of Ibrahim Pacha, he had endeavoured to exhibit to the Greeks a humane and civilized

policy, in order, if possible, to induce submission, and soften their horror of again throwing themselves on the mercy of their tyrants. In almost every instance this parade of clemency had failed of producing the desired effect, and his only object now seemed to be to destroy and exterminate, till, in his own words, he should have left the Morea a "ruin."* On his return from Missolonghi he had forborne attempting any expedition of importance, but his army was occupied in daily excursions, burning the olive groves, tearing up the vineyards, destroying the villages, and carrying off into slavery the wretched inhabitants of the Peloponnesus. Early in July he attempted to penetrate into the province of Laconia, but this was pursuing the lion to his lair; the Mainotes, entrenched in their wild fastnesses, repulsed him at every assault; the women fought with fury by the side of their husbands; and the Pacha, though accompanied by eight thousand men, was glad to retrace his steps to Calamata. The remainder of the month he consumed in devastating Arcadia; then turning to the East he traversed the country as far as Astros, on the coast, where he made a fresh attempt to enter the territory of the Mainotes, but meeting with an equally spirited repulse, he fell back upon Astros, and again retreated to Tripolizza. The entire peninsula was now in fact completely reduced; Napoli di Romania, Corinth, and Napoli di Malvasia, were alone in the hands of the Greeks, and the scattered parties who, under Colocotroni and Niketas, occasionally encountered the Egyptians in the interior, could only carry on a flying warfare, making a faint show of resistance in the wild passes of the hills, but never daring to meet the Pacha on the plains, or sustain a vigorous attack of his disciplined Arabs.

A.D.
1826.

Cruelties
of the
Egyptians.

* See Swan's Journal, v. ii. p. 245.

A.D. Kiutahi had spent the month of June in reducing
1826. Thebes, and establishing his communications with Oro-
 pos and Zeitouni, which he maintained by means of a
 small squadron in the Gulf of Talanda. It was con-
The Turks sequently early in July ere he had leisure to commence
in Attica. his operations against Athens. The city was defended
 by a garrison of two thousand men, under Goura ; the
 women and useless consumers were all removed to Sa-
 lamiis, and the citadel was amply stored with provisions
 for a lengthened siege. The whole forces of Northern
 Greece were speedily collected to oppose him, but in
 spite of the exertions of Kariaskaki and his Roume-
 liots, and Favier with his disciplined corps, the Pacha,
 on the 17th of August, succeeded in a furious attack
 upon the city, and drove the garrison to the Acropolis.
 Some trifling actions subsequently took place in the
Siege of plains in the vicinity of Athens, where Kiutahi endea-
Athens. voured to destroy the bands of irregulars who were
 daily collecting around the city, but as the latter gene-
 rally turned to flight after a few rounds, and returned
 to their position on the retiring of the enemy, they were
 productive of no results of importance to either party.
 The object of the Turks was to reduce the fortress by
 blockade rather than to carry it by force of arms ; they
 established batteries on such of the surrounding heights
 as commanded the Acropolis, whence their shells did
 considerable damage to the Greeks, and they drew a
 close cordon around the city to intercept communi-
 cation with the Roumeliots or Favier.

Winter drew on amidst these tedious and harassing
 proceedings ; the Egyptians still continued to ravage
 and lay waste the peninsula, and Northern Greece was
 again virtually restored to the Sultan. The resources
 of the country were exhausted, the remnant of the
 Moreot population were actually perishing from cold,

hunger, and hardship; nearly one hundred thousand of them, homeless and hopeless, had fled from their ruined valleys to the mountains, and there subsisted on wild berries and roots, by day skulking in ravines from their pursuers, and by night resting under the shelter of hovels constructed of branches thatched with rushes; the soldiery, disheartened and despairing, no longer dreamed of opposing the enemy; the majority of the fleet was laid up uselessly at Hydra, or employed in marauding expeditions throughout the Ægean; the whole nation was paralysed and dispirited, and it seemed as if the revolution were "drawing to a close through gradual exhaustion." To add to this misery, dissensions of the most alarming nature had again broken out in the Morea. It appeared as if the various chiefs, aware of the approaching fate of the struggle, were determined to seize upon all those points of importance which still remained to the Government, and with these, as peace offerings, be prepared for submission to the Sultan. One party, headed by Notaras, took possession of the citadel of Corinth, and held it, in spite of all remonstrance; whilst the soldiery spread themselves over the province, wrested the crops from the peasantry, and emulated in the north of the Morea the ravages of the Egyptians in its southern extremity. Two other Captains, Grivas and Photomara, occupied the two forts which command Napoli di Romania, and compelled the Commissions to abandon the town and remove their sittings to a little castle in the harbour, whence they afterwards withdrew to the island of Egina, as more convenient to Athens and the seat of war.

A.D.
1826.

Opening of
the sixth
year of the
war.

One of the first objects of the Government was to create a diversion in the rear of the Pacha, by exciting a fresh revolt amongst the lately-submitted peasantry in Northern Greece, and thus, if possible, intercepting his

Operations
in Eastern
Greece.

A.D.
1826.

communications with Thessaly; but though some well-fought actions occurred between the Ottoman troops and the soldiers of Kariaskaki and Coletti, who were dispatched for that purpose, the expedient was ineffectual, the supplies of the Seraskier were received chiefly by sea at Oropus, and his forces, entrenched within the walls of Athens, were amply sufficient to overawe the garrison. The number of the Greeks in the Acropolis were already beginning to be thinned by his continued bombardment, and their ammunition was rapidly exhausting, but on the night of the 23d of October a chief, named Grigiotti, effected an entrance into the citadel with a reinforcement of five hundred men; and on the 12th of the following month, Favier, with six hundred of his *tacticos*, passed the lines of the blockade, and arrived with a seasonable and ample supply of military stores.

Distress of
Athens.

Arrival of a
steam ship
and frigate.

A small squadron, under Miaoulis and Saktouris, which had still kept at sea, had prevented the Capitan Pacha from renewing his attacks upon Samos; it was joined in autumn by one of the long-looked-for steam-boats from England, and in December by the *Hope*, a frigate of sixty guns, constructed at New York. By the arrival of this timely reinforcement, the drooping spirits of the islanders were again in some degree aroused to energy; they had long seen with despair the declining efficacy of their brulots, which had, during the last two years, been almost invariably unsuccessful, and in their small craft it was impossible to make any head against the Ottoman line-of-battle ships. Prodigies were, however, anticipated from this new acquisition of strength, which promised equal advantages to the military with the naval operations of the war.

The spring of 1827 arrived without any material change in the aspect of affairs in Attica; Kariaskaki

was still busily employed in rousing the peasantry of Livodia; but the Government, conceiving that they had sufficient forces to dislodge Kiutahi from his position in Athens, arranged an expedition for the purpose, and committed its command to Colonel Gordon, of Cairness, a gentleman who had already rendered efficient service during the siege of Tripolizza, and had just returned to Greece for the third time. He was to act in concert with a Greek named Bourbaki, who was directed to land with one detachment at Eleusis, and attack the Turks on the flank, whilst Gordon proceeded to the Piræus, and took possession of the hill of the Phalerum. The plan succeeded but in part; Bourbaki, urging on with too much precipitancy towards Athens, was vigorously attacked by the Seraskier, his forces put to flight, and himself taken prisoner; and the other division, although it succeeded on the 5th of February in reaching the Phalerum, and held possession of it for some time against the entire forces of the Pacha, was incapable, from the want of cavalry, of improving the victory or descending to the plain. The garrison, in the mean time, was struggling with many difficulties; an epidemic was raging amongst them; their medical stores were expended, and, owing to the deficiency of the springs, the supply of water was disproportionate to the number of consumers; clothing and fuel were extremely scarce, and the weather was unusually severe; but, above all, the utmost discontent and disunion prevailed amongst the chiefs who held the command, as well as amongst the soldiery, who, from the strictness of the blockade, saw evidently that a surrender, however distant, was inevitable. The Government, in their straitened circumstances, could render no assistance; some skirmishing still continued on the plain between the Turks and the corps of Roumeliots, but

A.D.
1827.

Attempts
to relieve
Athens.

**A.D.
1827.** it invariably terminated without any useful result ; and an expedition under Miaoulis, which attempted in the beginning of March to seize on Oropus, and cut off the Pacha's supplies, failed through the indiscretion of a Bavarian Colonel Heideck, who commanded the troops destined for the service, and refused to land at the head of his forces when a favourable opportunity offered for attacking the enemy.

**Fourth
National
Assembly.**

**Arrival of
Lord Coch-
rane.**

The period for convening the National Assembly and appointing new ministers had long passed, and the people were now clamorous against the Commissioners, who still retained their authority, although, by their original constitution, it should have terminated at the September previous. The members, on their parts, professed the utmost readiness to surrender their office, and summon a Congress for the appointment of their successors; but they were at variance with the military chiefs, who insisted on the meeting being held at Hermione, whilst the Government as strongly urged its assembling at Ægina. The two parties were furiously embroiled about this childish squabble, when Lord Cochrane suddenly made his appearance off the Morea in the beginning of August. Apprised of the matter in dispute, his Lordship insisted on an instant accommodation as the only terms of his landing; Ægina and Hermione were both rejected, and the disputants mutually agreed to hold the assembly at Troezene. Here the most important of their acts consisted in appointing Cochrane High Admiral of the fleet ; Sir Richard Church, an Englishman, who had commanded the National corps in the Ionian Islands, Generalissimo of the forces ; and Count John Capo D'Istrias, an ex-minister of Russia, then in Italy, Governor of liberated Greece, which he was to be invited to accept for a term of seven years from the date of the decree: a commission was in the interim ap-

pointed to take the reins of government till his arrival, and the Congress adjourned to await his acceptance or rejection of the proffered honour.

A.D.
1827.

Ibrahim Pacha, during this interval, remained inactive at Modon, and Athens was now the grand centre of attraction, whither the attention and exertions of the nation were exclusively directed. Discord seemed for the moment banished; the new commanders, naval and military, enjoyed the most unbounded confidence of the nation; and it was generally believed that General Church, as well as Lord Cochrane, had each arrived well supplied with funds for the support of their respective departments. Proclamations were instantly issued throughout every district, calling on the Greeks to repair to the standard of the common deliverer; and but a few weeks had elapsed till the camp before Athens was crowded by twelve thousand men, and provisions were daily arriving in abundance supplied by the liberality of the islanders. In the enthusiasm of the moment, it was now resolved by General Church to attack the Turks at once, and drive them headlong from the city; and although this wild scheme was violently opposed by the Roumeliot chieftain, Kariaskaki, who still enjoyed unlimited popularity with the army, the attempt was made on the 25th of April. The Turks, at the Piræus, were vigorously attacked, driven from their position, and compelled to retire to the head-quarters of Kiutahi, with the exception of three hundred, who held out in the monastery for three days, and these, having then capitulated, were butchered by the Greeks in spite of all the exertions of General Church and Lord Cochrane. On the 4th of May the attack was renewed, but with indifferent success, and the army had to deplore the death of their heroic leader Kariaskaki, who was struck down close to the Turkish line, and expired the same

Progress of
the siege of
Athens.

A.D.
1827.

Battle of
the 6th of
May.

evening on board one of the vessels of Lord Cochrane. On the following night three thousand men were landed at the Piræus, and marched unobserved almost to the base of the Acropolis; the utmost panic pervaded the forces of the Pacha as the rising sun showed their dense numbers intrenched almost within gunshot of his quarters; but the Greeks, instead of commencing an instant attack, set about throwing up breastworks and preparing to strengthen their position. The enemy having thus leisure to scan their strength, and plucking up courage, instantly prepared for action; three thousand Delhis sprung speedily to horse and scoured the plain, and long ere noon the entire army of the Pacha was marshalled without the walls and commenced the onslaught. The imperfect tambours, or breastworks, of the Greeks were soon forced; the defenders, unable to resist the shock of the cavalry, turned to flight in all directions; and the Commander-in-Chief, who was hastening to their assistance with reinforcements, arrived only in time to witness the total destruction of the expedition. Fifteen hundred Greeks were slaughtered by the Turkish horse; four hundred more, and nearly a dozen of the bravest capitani, were taken prisoners by the Pacha; and Church and Cochrane with difficulty gained the Piræus, and hurried on board their vessels. The fate of Athens was now inevitable; the disheartened garrison had witnessed the total defeat of their countrymen; they saw the little fleet, in which were centred their hopes of deliverance, set sail from the shores of Attica, and they abandoned themselves to despair. The blue flag of the liberators still, however, floated above the Phalerum, where two thousand Greeks maintained their post; but this position, likewise, quickly became untenable; and General Church, con-

vinced of its insecurity, dismounted the battery, flung the cannon into a well, re-embarked the troops, and retired to the Morea. A D.
1820.

A signal advantage had, in the mean time, been gained over the Turks at Volo, by Captain Hastings, in the steam-ship, the *Perseverance*, aided by four Greek men-of-war. He had boldly entered the harbour and commenced shelling the town, whilst his boats cut out five transports and burned two others which lay beneath the walls; he then sailed down the Gulf to Trikkeri, and having set fire to and destroyed a Turkish ship of war of twenty-four guns, he returned with his prizes to Poros. These successes were, however, of too trifling magnitude to seriously affect the operations of Kiutahi; and Lord Cochrane, equally hopeless with his colleague of raising the blockade or effecting any thing in favour of the beleaguered fortress, put to sea on the 19th of May, in order to overtake the Ottoman fleet, which had lately passed the Dardanelles. Naval action at
Volo.

The garrison of the Acropolis continued after the defeat of the 6th of May to reject every offer of surrender proposed to them by the Pacha; they had still abundance of provisions for many months, and though the loss of the fortress was ultimately inevitable, they had resolved to defend it to the last extremity. It was therefore with extreme dissatisfaction that they received early in June a dispatch from General Church recommending an immediate capitulation; Favier, however, who was still in the citadel, strenuously supported the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, and had sufficient influence to induce a majority of the capitani to second the design. The fatal proposal was acceded to, the treaty was conducted by the French Admiral, De Rigny, and on the 5th of June the garrison, with their Surrender
of Athens
to the
Turks.

A.D. 1827. arms and baggage, abandoned the citadel to the Turks, marched to the Piræus, and embarked on board Greek vessels for the Peloponnesus.

The fall of Athens decided the fate of the Greek revolution; its defence had been conducted with the energy and boldness befitting a struggle for sheer existence; it was the last convulsive effort of expiring liberty, and, on its failure, the nation seemed to sink at once under exhaustion and despair. It appeared, in fact, that farther resistance was impossible: the Government still continued to hold its sittings at Ægina, but, without either funds or authority, its edicts and proclamations were merely ridiculed by the lawless soldiery. Northern Greece had now universally submitted to the Sultan, and the peasantry were rapidly returning to their villages and resuming the occupations of peaceful life. In the Morea, Ibrahim Pacha awaited but the arrival of fresh reinforcements to attack the few positions which were still occupied by the insurgents; and these presented the most revolting picture of anarchy and barbarous civil war. Corinth, after continuing for two years to resist the authority of the Government, was sold by its garrison to a band of Suliots; the possession of Napoli di Romania was still vigorously contested by Grivas and Photomara; and Colocotroni and Delhi Yauni had a similar struggle for the revenues of the province of Calavrita. It was in vain that Church exerted his limited influence to suppress these frightful excesses; he was deficient in that personal energy and determined resolution which are requisite to awe when they cannot crush; and instead of finding himself, as he had expected, at the head of an army prepared to fight to the last gasp for freedom, he stood powerless and disregarded, amidst a rabble of factious miscreants, who seemed, like the sailors of a foundering

Deplorable
condition of
the Greeks
at this
crisis.

Disgraceful
conduct of
the Chiefs.

ship, anxious only to sink amidst uproar and insensibility. As for the unfortunate Greeks, they were reduced by hardships, famine, and disease to the lowest ebb of misery; their houses and homes were levelled to the ground; their property, where it had not been ravaged by the Turks, was wrested from them by their own capitani; their vineyards and olive-groves were uprooted and consumed; and almost without clothing, covering, or sustenance, they skulked amidst the recesses of the hills, or wandered through the streets of the overcrowded and pestilent towns. Nor did there any longer exist a hope of escaping from their misery; extermination and slavery appeared to be the only fate which awaited them, and the period of this seemed fast approaching, as Ibrahim Pacha was again preparing to put his forces in motion. Lord Cochrane, impressed with the importance of intercepting his expected supplies, had attempted in June to destroy the Egyptian fleet at Alexandria, but the precaution of its commanders saved it from destruction; his fireships succeeded only in burning one brig of war, and, on the appearance of a formidable squadron, his Lordship was compelled to retire disappointed. He returned to the Western coasts of the Morea, and made some trifling attacks on detached vessels of the Turks, but in almost every instance he failed through the want of discipline and insubordination of the Greek sailors; and at length, on the 9th of September, the Pacha's supplies reached Navarino in safety, and Ibrahim prepared with all expedition to accomplish his threat, and consummate the ruin of the Morea.

A.D.
1827.

Naval operation of
Lord Cochrane.

The occurrence of this catastrophe was prevented by the timely interference of the European powers, in pursuance of the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827. It had long been apparent to the Greeks themselves, that with-

Interference of the
European Powers.

A.D.
1827.

out foreign support the success of their struggle was extremely dubious. It could scarcely be expected, in fact, that the contest of an insulated province with a powerful empire, however protracted and boldly sustained, should terminate otherwise than in exhaustion and defeat. The entire extent of their country was liable, and had actually become the seat of war; their internal resources were soon expended, and the temporary assistance which they had hitherto derived from abroad was, at best, but partial and inefficient. The Greeks, in a word, had but one army and one military chest; whilst their opponents, with almost illimitable means, could bring host after host into the field, and replace, during one recess, the havoc of the most ruinous campaign. At an early period of the contest the insurgents had perceived their ultimate dependency on the Courts of Europe, and had sought to conciliate their good-will during the Congress at Verona. But their advances were met with worse than contempt by the assembled powers; the deputation of the Provisional Government were denied even an entrance to the city "honoured with their august presence;" and after being detained for months at Ancona, were forced to return to the Morea without receiving a reply to their memorial.

Conduct of
the Con-
gress of
Verona.

Represent-
ations of
Russia.

In spite of this haughty repulse, the progress of the revolution was regarded with serious concern by the Allied sovereigns, and especially by the Emperor Alexander, who loudly complained of the injury sustained by the Levant trade, and interruption of the intercourse of the Russians with the Black Sea. He pressed upon the attention of the other European Sovereigns the necessity of urging some arrangement of the quarrels between the Porte and its subjects, and although endeavours to effect this were repeatedly made by the am-

bassadors at Constantinople, their negotiations were never characterised by any striking energy, owing chiefly to the avowed opposition of Austria, who strongly condemned any interference between a ruler and his revolted subjects, or any measure which tended to trench on the indefeasible rights of absolute monarchy. At length, in 1826, matters becoming hourly more distressing in Greece, the trade of the Mediterranean being seriously impeded, and Russia having manifested symptoms of an inclination to take the adjustment of affairs into her own hands, the English cabinet took advantage of the Duke of Wellington's congratulatory mission to St. Petersburg, on the event of the Emperor Nicholas's accession to the throne, to express their readiness to co-operate in any arrangements for the settlement of Greek affairs. The result of this communication was the protocol of the 4th of April, which was subsequently submitted to the Courts of France, Austria, and Prussia. By the two latter all interference was declined, but the former having acceded to the necessity of immediate pacification, the conferences of the three powers commenced in the spring of 1827, and terminated in the treaty of London, which was signed by the Plenipotentiaries on the 6th of July. The basis of the treaty was an offer on the part of the contracting powers, of their mediation to the Ottoman Porte, "with the view of bringing about a reconciliation between it and the Greeks," and the demanding an immediate armistice preliminary to the opening of any negotiation. The arrangement to be proposed was to place Greece on the footing of a tributary province, under the sovereignty of the Sultan, with permission to choose its own governors, liable to the approval of the Divan, and to occupy exclusively the islands and the continent (as far as

A.D.
1827.

Protocol of
the 4th of
April.

Treaty of
the 6th of
July, 1827.

A.D.
1827.

limits to be afterwards decided on should determine) on paying an indemnification to the former proprietors. The observance of the terms of reconciliation and peace, as should be agreed on, were to be guaranteed by such of the contracting powers as chose to undertake the obligation; and by an additional and secret article it was provided, in case of the pacification so indispensably requisite being opposed by one or both the belligerents, that the said high contracting parties, were nevertheless, "to exert all the means which circumstances might suggest to their prudence, to obtain the immediate effect of the armistice, by preventing, in as far as might be in their power, all collision between the contending parties," without, however, taking any part in the hostilities existing between them.

Proceed-
ings of the
European
Fleets.

It would be uninteresting and unimportant to enter into a detail of the complicated negotiations which ensued from the ratification of this treaty.* By the Greeks, the interference and terms proposed by the three powers were gladly accepted; but by the Porte they were rejected with the most persevering obstinacy. The forces of France and England in the Mediterranean were consequently augmented, a Russian squadron was ordered from the North to unite with them, and instructions were forwarded to the British Admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, to prevent the landing in Greece of any reinforcements either from Turkey or Egypt. "Before these instructions had been enlarged or explained by the allied Ambassadors at the Porte, to whom the Admirals were referred, and even before all the allied force which was to carry them into execution had reached its destination," the Pacha's supplies, as already mentioned, had arrived at Navarino; but by

* These will be found at length in an article in the Ninth Number of the Foreign Quarterly Review for November 1829.

fresh dispatches, Sir Edward was empowered to prevent any naval transport of these new forces from port to port, or any attempt of Ibrahim's fleet to revictual the fortresses on the coast. An effectual stop was thus put to any continuance of the war by sea; the Admirals were at the same time directed to facilitate in every manner the safe departure of such vessels as chose to return peaceably to their respective ports; and as for the Turkish and Egyptian ships then in the harbours of Navarino and Modon, it was determined, in the event of their obstinately persisting to remain there, *that they, as well as the fortresses, should run all the chances of war.*

A.D.
1827.

Intimation of these intentions being conveyed to the Pacha by Sir Edward and the French Admiral, (the Russian squadron not having yet arrived,) an armistice, extending to the land and sea forces then in Navarino, was concluded on the 25th of September, which was to continue in force till Ibrahim should receive directions from the Porte or his father, as to his farther operations; and in the event of his communications being unfavourable, hostilities were only to be renewed after the exchange of due preliminaries. Scarcely a week, however, had elapsed from the completion of this arrangement, ere the Pacha attempted to infringe it, a division of upwards of forty sail issued from Navarino and attempted to proceed to Patras, but were forced to return by Sir Edward Codrington. Off Zante it was joined by Ibrahim in person, with fifteen ships of war, who persisted during the night, on entering the Gulf, and it was only after a display of open force that he was compelled, on the 5th of October, to retrace his route and occupy his former position. Enraged at being thus foiled in his perfidy, he instantly resumed his inhuman butchery of the Moreots, and again his troops were dis-

Perfidy of
Ibrahim.

A.D.
1827. persed over Messenia, ravaging, burning, and destroying. To put a stop to these frightful enormities, the three Admirals * decided, after mature deliberation, "to make him a proposal, in the name of their Governments, to return with his fleet to Egypt, as the only means of saving the inhabitants of the Morea from destruction, and thus executing the objects of the treaty." In pursuance of this determination, a warning letter was sent to Ibrahim by an English officer, and returned in consequence of his Drogueman's declaration that the Pacha was not to be found; and the following day, the 20th of October, the Commanders, hoping to intimidate him into acquiescence by the imposing appearance of their strength, entered the harbour, with all their forces, with the intention of demanding, personally, his compliance with their proposal. The result was the battle of Navarino. The Turco-Egyptian fleet, alarmed at this hostile movement, commenced the attack, by firing on the boat which conveyed the flag-of-truce, the action soon became general, and after one of the most sanguinary engagements in the annals of modern warfare, the allied fleet rode victorious amidst the smoking wrecks of the Turkish and Egyptian navy.

Battle of
Navarino.

Pacifica-
tion of
Greece.

The remainder of the tale is quickly told; the independence of Greece was now secure; her light vessels, no longer dreading the line-of-battle ships of their enemy, proceeded to blockade the fortresses still in the hands of the Turks; whilst their European allies dispersed themselves over the Ægean to root out the nest of pirates who lurked about its islands. An expedition planned by the Government against Scio totally failed; "General Church appears to have effected nothing, and Lord Cochrane vanished from the scene." In January 1828, Count Capo D'Istria arrived in the Morea, with a loan

* The Russian squadron arrived on the 13th of October.

of fourteen millions of francs, guaranteed by Russia and France, and was immediately invested with the Presidency of the Government. A French expedition, fitted out at his request, sailed from Toulon, under the command of General Maison, and reached the Morea in the summer of the same year, in order to effect the evacuation of the Morea by the Egyptians. On the 7th of October, the last of the hostile armament took its departure from the Peloponnesus, and twelve months afterwards, the Sultan, terrified by the successes of the Russian arms, gave a virtual assent to the treaty of the 6th of July.

A.D.
1828.

Her independence
acknowledged by
the Porte.

1829.

NOTE.

At page 567 of the Second Volume, I have mentioned that 300,000 piastres were contributed for the improvement of the harbour of Hydra, by one of her merchants, named Varvaki. The fact is so stated in Carrol's "Resumé de l'Histoire des Grecs," (page 281); but on referring to a biographical sketch of Varvaki in the "Chroniques du Levant," (Cah. Prem. p. 25.) I find that he was an Ipsariot, and that the sum specified was transmitted by him for the purpose of completing the port of his native island.

The reader will please to correct the following inaccuracies of the text.

VOL. I.

Page	line		
8	17	for Piræus,	read Piræan.
62	19	spar of devotion,	spar to devotion.
66	13	Sultan of Babylon,	Sultan of Bagdad.
126	1	whilst they embraced,	whilst the latter embraced.
130	8	Argos to the Venetians,	Argos and Napoli di Romania to the Venetians.
172	20	fortress of Napoli di Romania,	fortresses of Napoli di Romania, Patras, and Napoli di Malvasia.
283	25	Albania,	Epirus.
250	2	first year of the 19th century,	last year of the 18th century.
267	24	30,000,	3,000.
281	13	the importance of each,	the importance of every governor.
ib.	19	but in reality they became,	but in reality the inferior rulers became.
288	11	1776,	1779.
299	5	this stream,	the stream.
338 n.	22	forerunner,	successor.

VOL. II.

16	14	and their wars with the,	and the wars of the latter with the.
17	1	Alaric,	Attila.
24	9	beginning of the 18th century,	beginning of the 19th century.
241 n.	8	to the Roman Pontiff Faustus,	to Faustus, Bishop of Riets.

HISTORY

OF

MODERN GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

From the Conquest of Greece by the Romans to the Capture
of Rome by the Goths, B.C. 146—A. D. 476.

FROM the period of the conquest of Achaia B.C.
146.
by Mummius, and the reduction of Greece to
a province of the Roman empire, her history
assumes a new and totally different aspect.
Her previous annals are a detail of the proud
pre-eminence to which genius and enterprize,
under the direction of wise and patriotic rulers,
can raise a nation; her later story is but the
narrative of that corruption and decay which
can never fail to ensue when political energy
and legislative dignity have alike disappeared.
From this time we cease to read of victories
and triumphs; the historian has to record only
miseries and insult; heroes and patriots appear

B.C.
146.

little better than marauding incursions into the territory of unprotected states.* It was in vain that the Achaeans, who had ever been remarkable for their probity, strove to check this hurrying ruin by consolidating in a national alliance the surviving energies of the state. Patriotism and virtue were alike wanting to cement the union; nor could the terrors of impending overthrow suspend for a moment that spirit of dissension and jealousy which had ever been the bane of the Greeks.† For upwards of a century the chiefs of the League were enabled to maintain a generous but unequal struggle; and it was only when reduced to the last extremity of weakness by the conflicts of the federate states that they submitted to the interference of the Romans. The alternative was a fatal one, and ended, after a series of despotic inflictions, in the annihilation of the ill-accorded League and the reduction of Greece to a province of the ponderous Roman Empire.

* Such were the hostilities between the Messenians and Ætolians after the Cleomenic war, (Polyb. l. iv. c. i.) the expedition of Philip into Laconia, (ib. l. v. c. ii.) and others about the same period.

† Εἰ μὲν ὃν ἔφ' ἑαυτῶν διατέλεσαν ὄντες, καὶ τοῖς παρούσιν ἀρκούμενοι, καὶ μὴ διέστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀλλήλοις φιλονεικῦντες, οὐκ

"It is not," says M. Rabbe, "the loss of territory, or the ruin of empire, which constitutes the *death* of a nation, but the decay of those institutions by which she has grown to eminence and honour, and the decline of that genius which has given a character to her inhabitants. When this loss is consummated, we no longer find that which constitutes the one half of 'nationality,' patriotism,—or, if it still survive, it becomes lukewarm, fitful, and uncertain; the only unalienated tie is the associations of the soil. Yet a country consists not in its earth alone, but in its manners, its laws, and its religion." *

In all these, Greece was now no more; the long line of her worthies was extinct: Philopœmen, who perished a few years before, was justly styled the last of her sons, and Polybius, ^{A. M. 3821.} who inherited a portion of his greatness, wore out the threads of his existence in the land of her conquerors, and only returned to lay his dust in the grave of his fathers. With him set the last bright name of Hellas; and his country-^{A. M. 3852.} men, too lately awakened to the knowledge of his worth, engraved upon his tomb the honourable epitaph, "that Greece would have fallen

ἀν ἑταροι ποτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐγένοντο κύριοι.—Zosimus, lib. i. c. 3.

* Introd. Mem. de M. Raybaud, p. 4.

B.C.
146. into no errors had she followed the counsels of Polybius; and when at last she perished by her own wilfulness, Polybius alone had suggested the means of her deliverance."

The Romans, in the commencement of their reign, proved, in their conduct towards Greece, that they were possessed of minds capable of sympathising, as far as tyrants could, with the feelings of those whom they had conquered; and whilst the Greeks lost with their wonted power but little of their accustomed love of liberty, their new masters deprived them of but few of their established privileges,* and treated them rather as the subjects than the vassals of the Republic. Their thirst for independence was, however, by no means eradicated, even by unlooked-for clemency; and that supple mind which could bend itself to force, awaited but the first opportunity to recoil with ardour at the proffered occasion of regaining freedom.

About fifty years had elapsed from the period of her subjection to the Romans, when the advancement of a new monarchy in the East began to arouse the apprehensions of her masters for the safety of their Asiatic possessions. Mithridates the VIth, the tenth King of Pontus, having dethroned the monarchs of Cappadocia and Bithynia, and butchered the Italian resi-

* Rollin, vol. ix. p. 68. Strabo, lib. ix.

dents of Asia Minor,* directed his arms against ^{B. C.} the shores of Greece, as the most convenient ^{36.} point from whence to direct a home thrust at his Roman rivals. Allured by the immensity of his armament of 120,000 men, parched with a still unsated thirst for liberty, and seduced by the counsels of an ambitious citizen,† Athens at once threw wide her gates to the invaders, and Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, quartered his soldiers in the city and the Acropolis, whilst the influence of the capital was employed to induce the remaining States to join the standard of Pontus against the eagles of their victors. ^{A. M.} ^{3018.}

It was at this alarming crisis, that Sylla was sent into Greece to quell this threatening revolt of the lately-conquered province. Equally faithless to their new allies, and terrified at the name and progress of the legions of the Consul, the entire of the eastern districts submitted to the arms of Sylla; but Aristion, intoxicated with his newly-acquired power, still held possession of Athens, whilst Archelaus made an equal show of opposition within the walls of the Piræus. Their efforts, however, were in vain: Athens fell, after a protracted siege, less before the prowess of Sylla than betrayed by the troops of Aristion; and shortly after, the Con-

* Appian in Mith. pp. 188. 197. † Aristion.

B. C.
86. sul invested and stormed the Piræus, where he reduced the arsenal of Philo to ruins, and demolished the greater portion of the city.

But the war was not yet terminated; and it was only after a struggle of four years against the generals of Mithridates, that the negotiations of Rome produced an accommodation, by which the Asiatic army evacuated the plains of Attica, which returned to its allegiance, whilst the successes of Sylla at Chæronea and Orchomenus added new districts in the north to the territory of the Romans.

A. M.
3919.

It is easy, without the aid of historical minuteness, to conceive the miserable situation in which Greece was left after so long a series of extermination and bloodshed. Athens was a ruin;* the entire circuit from the Piræus to the

* Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ πόλεμοι τὸ τεῖχος κατήρειψαν, καὶ τὸ τῆς Μουνυχίας ἔρυμα, τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ συνέστειλαν εἰς ὀλίγην κατοικίαν.
—Strabo, lib. ix.

“Sylla having levelled with the ground all that was between the Piræan gates and that called Sacred, entered the town at midnight in a manner the most dreadful that can be conceived. All the trumpets and horns sounded, and were answered by the shouts and clang of the soldiers let loose to plunder and destroy. They rushed along the streets with drawn swords, and horrible was the slaughter they made. The numbers of the slain could not be computed, but we may form some judgment of it by the quantity of ground which was overflowed by the blood. For, besides those that

Sacred gate was levelled to the ground; the ^{B.C.}_{88.} groves of the Academy and the Lycæum were cut down to furnish timber for the engines employed in the assault: Macedonia was a wilderness; and the leading cities of the northern districts had been sacked and burned by the soldiery of Archelaus.

But the sum of her wretchedness was not yet completed. The Cilician pirates,* taking advantage of the civil wars which were now raging to the gates of Rome, began on the departure of Sylla to make frequent and rapid descents on the shores of the Peloponnesus, despoiling what the Roman ravagers had spared, and destroying what possessed no attraction for removal. At length, when every available excess had been committed, when there remained no further property to plunder, their wanton barbarism urged them to the overthrow of those edifices which had escaped the ravages of war: and Plutarch enumerates thirteen temples which they sacked and demolished.† For forty years

fell in other parts of the city, the blood that was shed in the market-place alone, covered all the Ceramicus as far as Dypius; nay, there are some who assure us it ran through the gates and overspread the suburbs."—Plutarch in *vita Syllæ*.

* Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 459.

† In *vita Pompeii*.

B.C.
31. their progress was unchecked;* and at length when Pompey had succeeded in destroying their fleet and forces, Greece was beyond redemption ruined, her plains a desert, and her cities, to use the words of Plutarch, "widowed of inhabitants." †

The last stormy days of the Roman Republic proved an era of blood to devastated Greece. Amidst all the impotency of her slavery, the undying spirit of liberty was still hovering around her shores, and urging the famished remnant of her children to side with that party which in the successive conflicts of the state professed to espouse the cause of freedom. When her poverty no longer permitted her to yield them energetic aid, her untilled fields became the arena of their conflicts; and the plains of Pharsalia and the waves of Actium witnessed the expiring struggle of the factions of Pompey and of Antony.

A.M.
3973. At the conclusion of the latter war, her spoliation seemed complete, and Plutarch states, ‡ that when Cæsar, after the defeat of his opponent, visited the cities of Greece, he found them merged in the abyss of poverty, their cattle and goods having been long since carried off by successive hosts of plunderers; and he

* Gast. 665.

† Χηρευουσιν ανδραν.

‡ In vitâ Ant.

adds, that his grandfather, Nicarchus, used to ^{B.C. 31.} relate, that as the inhabitants of Chæronea had no horses, they were compelled to carry a certain quantity of corn on their shoulders to the sea-side, as far as Anticyra, and were driven by soldiers with stripes like so many beasts of burthen.

The insurrection of the Greeks in the Mithridatic War, was the only effort which they made to regain their freedom, and a thousand surrounding circumstances concurred to expedite their degradation. Their proficiency in the arts, which has secured for them the devoted admiration of later ages, procured for them no exalted honour in the estimation of the Romans, whose rude and untutored taste was late in learning to *admire*, and even in their acme of refinement could never adequately *appreciate* the genius of their tributaries.*

* At the capture of Corinth (B.C. 146) the Roman general was so ignorant of the value of his plunder, that in sending forward, among the rest of the booty, the celebrated painting of Bacchus, by Aristides, which was to be exhibited in Rome, and was purchased by Attalus for 600,000 sesterces, or 3615*l.* sterling, he assured his servants that if the picture was injured, they should buy a *new one* in its stead. —“Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut captâ Corintho cûm maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas et statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eas reddituros.” —Vell. Paterc. l. 1.

B.C.
31. From the reign of Augustus down to the invasion of the Barbarians, Greece, confounded in the multitude of the provinces, seemed to have no claim on the attention of the universe; that genius which had preserved her dignity even in servitude ceased to be conspicuous, and the sceptre of taste gradually passed into those hands which had already seized on her power and her independence.* The distinguished title of philosopher dwindled to the epithet of sophist and pedagogue; and Greece, which had furnished to mankind the first of artists, of warriors, and poets, at last supplied the mansions of Rome with pimps and buffoons,—as Egypt sent to the Imperial City her necromancers and cooks, and Thrace and Dacia supplied her streets with porters, and her theatres with successions of gladiators, to be

“ Butchered to make a Roman holiday.”

Still not even this state of debasement could altogether obliterate the remembrance of what she *had* been, nor eradicate those finer perceptions of taste which seemed inherent to her blood. Whilst Rome, emerging from barbarism, was cherishing each new refinement of her nascent schools, the Greek, “civilized but corrupted,”

* M. Rabbe.

despised each rude aspiring of his masters, and ^{B.C. 81.} clung with bereaved fondness to the language and institutions of his fathers; and whilst the Peloponnesus and the northern provinces furnished menials to the court of the Emperors, what remained of learning and the finer accomplishments, gradually emerged from obscurity, and became concentrated in the schools of Athens. The elegancies of Grecian literature were thus, in her decline, preserved by the energies of those colonies which in her brighter days she had planted on the shores of Asia Minor and the plains of Sicily, whence their descendants “undertook long and frequent journeys, to worship the muses in their favourite temples on the banks of the Ilissus.”*

The Romans, too, began early to admire the beauties of her poets and historians; the immortal writers “who still command the admiration of modern Europe,” gradually became the favourite study of Italy† and the empire; and the names of Cicero and Horace, amongst a host of others, were found enrolled among the students of the Athenian schools of philosophy and rhetoric; where long after the firm establishment of the Roman dominion,

* Gibbon, vol. vii.

† Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.” Hor. Epis. lib. ii. ch. 1.

^{B.C.}_{31.} the disciples of Plato, the Stoics, the Peripatetics and the Epicureans, continued to frequent the same Groves and Porticoes which they had occupied in the days of their country's independence.

During nearly seven hundred years, Attica served as the nursery for the youth of Rome, and supplied masters for the literary associations of the Asiatic provinces, till the appearance of Christianity gave the death-blow to the superstitions of her professors, and the introduction of a defined theory of ethics and morality did away with that system of reasoning and disputation which had been the support of her philosophers; and to close the scene, the suppressive edict of Justinian dispersed her schools, bereaved her of that literary pre-eminence which, even in her overthrow, she had preserved above the surrounding States, and by depriving her of the superiority of mind, reduced her at once to the same level of debasement with her fellow vassals. Philopœmen and Polybius were the last of her patriots, and Simplicius and his associates concluded the long line of her philosophers: the manly spirit of her children was extinct—the polished manners of her brighter days were gone—she had even ceased to sigh for freedom from her thralldom; and, without genius, without laws, institutions,

or patriotism, the last fatal blow was struck, ^{B. C.}
and—Greece expired. ^{31.}

The empire of Rome attained its height of debauchery and power but a few years after the subjection of the province of Achaia, and became itself the slave of those tyrants whom its dissensions had invested with the supremacy ^{A. M.}
of its government. At the accession of Augustus ^{3973.} to the imperial power, he found a nobility debased by an addiction to every crime, and a total abandonment of every virtue, and solely characterized by a grovelling venality to the throne, as the only certain path to wealth and aggrandizement; and that people, who had once invested kings with their purple and their power, had now no higher aim than sensuality, and sought no other gratification than “bread and the public shows.”

At the same time, the bounds of the Empire were so widely extended, that the energies of even the soundest government could have afforded but a feeble protection of its rights and revenues; whilst in fact, the unhealthy condition of its constitution already began to render it a promising bait to the cupidity of the surrounding barbarians, who, at an early period of his reign, commenced that series of inva- ^{A. M.}
sions, which terminated in the utter overthrow ^{3987.} of Rome, and included in its outstretched ruin

^{B.C.}_{31.} the sack and spoliation of Athens and its other dependencies.

Augustus, however, betrayed no sympathy for the early history or the helpless fate of Greece, though already its misfortunes had become a theme for the poets of the "Augustan Age:":* he even strove to sink her still deeper in despair, by depriving the Athenians of the few privileges which the Commonwealth had left them, by reducing Messenia to a state of abject vassalage, and destroying the dignity of Sparta by dissolving the alliance of its towns, each of which he declared independent under the title of Eleuthero-lacons.†

^{A.D.}_{14—54.} Under the debaucheries of Tiberius and Caligula, and the vicious imbecilities of Claudius, the Greeks were still sinking lower in the scale of infamy, whilst the advancement of the Romans in the refinements of sensuality afforded a lucrative and tempting mart for the prurient inventions of their minions; and in the then existing state of society, which had not yet learned to enliven the scenes of domestic enjoyment, by the presence and accomplishments of females, the sprightly wit and ever

* Vide Lucan, lib. iii.

"Quid Pandionis restant nisi nomen Athenæ."—Ovid.

† Vide Strabo, Geog. lib. viii. p. 562. Pausanias, lib. iii. c. 21.

ready genius of the Greek must have formed ^{A. D. 54.} an indispensable addition to the economy of the banquet and the supper.*

The acmé of their baseness seems, however, ^{A. D. 54.} to have been attained in their servile adulation of the monster Nero, whom their fawning sycophancy induced to pass over into Greece † for the purpose of displaying in their theatres the compass of his voice and the graces of his gymnastic acquirements. They accompanied him from city to city, and from state to state, with the most loathsome flatteries; and in the course of one year degraded the honours of the Pythian and Nemæan games; by placing eighteen hundred laurel crowns on the brows of the matricidal tyrant.‡ Nero, gratified by their self-abasement, made a farce of restoring the ancient dignity of Greece, and absolutely declared it “free;” but the favour was merely nominal, it produced no change in the term or oppression of their servitude, and Vespasian again recalled the empty honour, by pronouncing them unworthy of lenity or freedom.§

During the iron age which intervened between the death of Augustus and that of Trajan, a period of nearly a century, the mass ^{A. D. 96.}

* Gifford's *Essay on the Roman Satirists*. † Ziphil. in Ner.

‡ They struck a medal to his honour, the legend of which styled him “The Saviour of the Human Race.”—Spon, vol. ii. p. 116.

§ Dio.

A. D. 98. of the Grecian people seemed wallowing in all the filth of venal slavery; and their tame submission to the tyranny or caprice of their conquerors is chequered by no political event in the annals of their overthrow. Contented in their infamy, their subjection was productive of no irritation to themselves, nor their factions of annoyance to the throne. At Rome they were installed in every office which could contribute to the sensuality or pleasure of the court; and their officious industry in these base avocations has received a minute and caustic recital from the pen of the satirist Juvenal, who flourished under the dynasty of Domitian, A. D. 81.

Hither they come,
 And batten on the genial soil of Rome—
 The minions, then the lords of every princely dome: }
 A flattering, oringing, treacherous, artful race,
 Of fluent tongue, and never blushing face;
 A Protean tribe, one knows not what to call,
 That shifts to every form, and shines in all:
 Grammarian, painter, augur, rhetorician,
 Geometer, quack, conjurer, musician;
 All arts his own the hungry Greekling counts,
 And bid him mount the sky, the sky he mounts.

Satire III. (Gifford's Trans.)

With the accession of Nerva,* however, a new era was commencing, and that felicity

* A. D. 96. Eutrop. Dio.

which Greece enjoyed beneath the sceptre of Hadrian and the two Antonines may be justly considered one of the happiest epochs of her decline. The former, who had in his youth been sent from Rome as Archon of Athens,* had there early imbibed a taste for Grecian literature † and philosophy, and that partiality for the city and its antiquities which characterized the tenor of his reign ; during which she enjoyed uninterrupted political tranquillity. Her edifices, too, and sacred buildings were almost without exception restored and beautified by the munificence of Hadrian, or the generosity of her distinguished citizen, Herodes Atticus.‡

It was to him that the Athenians were indebted for the Stadium, whose enormous ruins are still to be traced by the traveller. He erected a theatre, in which the only timber made use of, was cedar-wood, carved in the highest perfection of the art ; and repaired the Odeum of Pericles, with a magnificence which surpassed its original splendour. But his liberality was not conferred upon Attica alone ; Argolis, Thrace, and Epirus, Thessaly, Bœotia, and Eubœa, were

* Meursius de Fortuna Attic. cap. x. p. 10 ; and Spartianus in Vita Hadriani.

† Ἀδριανὸς ἦν ἡδὺς μὲν ἐντυχεῖν, τῇ τε Λατίνῳ καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἀρίστα γλαύτῃ χρᾶμενος.—Joan. Antiochenus Excerpta Cons. Porphy. p. 819.

‡ See Gibbon, vol. i. p. 72.

A. D. 117—
180. equally indebted to his taste and munificence ; and countless inscriptions throughout the cities of Greece and the Morea still attest the wealth and generosity of Herodes Atticus.*

To Hadrian, Athens was equally indebted for the most important benefits, both local and political ; and whilst his taste for the arts and literature induced him to adorn her temples and present the citizens with a library,† he contributed to her municipal wealth, by assigning to her the island of Cephalaria,‡ as Antony had before made over to her Tenos, Skiathos, Scio, and some other islands of the Cyclades.§ Such was the fortunate situation of the city in this memorable era, that Athens seemed again to rise from her ruins, glorious as before her fall ; and an inscription raised by the magistrates proclaimed Hadrian as the second founder of the city.||

But, under all these favourable auspices, Greece made no advancing step towards a moral reformation ; the taste for literature and refinement, which had been diffused throughout the provinces, merely afforded her an oppor-

* Vide Academy of Inscriptions, vol. xxx.

† “ Hadrianus cum insignes et plurimas ædes fecisset Athenis, agonem edidit, bibliothecamque miri operis extruxit.”—Hieron. et Cassiod. in Chron.

‡ Ziphilinus in vitâ Hadriani. § Meursius, c. x. p. 98.

|| ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ
ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ Κ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ.

tunity of exercising those discoveries in science and in art, which had been made by her early citizens; and, with the solitary exception of Lucian, who was born in the reign of Trajan,* this era of her annals can boast no author of originality, and has left no monument of genius.

A. D.
117—
180.

Equally flexible to crouch beneath the weight of tyranny, or expand under the genial influence of kindness, she betrayed no symptom of change or sympathy during that epoch of blood in which Rome saw fifteen successive emperors † assassinated or dethroned in the space of seventy years; she manifested no indication of advancement under the mild sway of Pertinax and Severus, nor relaxed in her shameless sycophancy to Commodus and Caracalla. The high-minded daring of her sons was fled; her fellow-subjects considered her but as “a conquered nation,” a deteriorated and a groveling one; and henceforward the only mention of her by the historian is as the tame and passive sufferer of a thousand injuries, and the unresisting object of reiterated insult.

A. D.
250.

Hitherto her debasement was but the gradual decay of virtue during a sluggish interval of inglorious ease; but a darker era was ap-

* At Samosata, in Syria. Though Lucian's works are written in the purest Attic dialect, Greece can scarcely lay claim to him as one of her classics.

† With one exception, L. Severus.

A. D. 250. proaching, in which murder was to be added to misery, and ceaseless bloodshed and successive ravages were again to reduce her fields to desolation and her cities to a solitude. A new host of enemies had arisen in the growing power of the Goths, whilst in the same proportion the Romans were becoming, from day to day, less and less able to protect the provinces from their devastating inroads.

Already, in the reign of Caracalla, and again in that of Alexander Severus, these barbarians, descending from their northern forests, had commenced their attacks upon the distant wings of the Empire; and whilst the attention of succeeding monarchs was solely occupied by the quick succession of royal assassinations and violent political convulsions, which continually infested the throne, the physical forces of the nation were dying fast away, and the power and daring of the Goths were gaining fresh accessions of strength and confidence by each successful expedition. At length, during the short dynasty of Philip, they overran without opposition the province of Dacia, crossed the Neister and the Danube, advanced as far as Marcianopolis in Second Mœsia,* and again returned upon their route, after exacting from the inhabitants the pay-

* Gibbon, vol. i. p. 398.

ment of a large sum of money as a ransom for their lives and property. A.D.
250.

Inspired with confidence by this their first success against a power so formidable as that of Rome, Cniva, their leader, again returned in the reign of Decius with an army of seventy thousand Germans and Sarmatians, penetrated into Thrace, and after a protracted siege took possession of Philippopolis: here he put 100,000 of the inhabitants to the sword; and Priscus, a brother of the late Emperor Philip, accepted the government of his conquests. In his first attempts to check their progress, the troops of the Emperor received a total defeat; and in a second effort he fell, in an engagement with the barbarians, by the treachery of his general and successor, Gallus, who had entered into a league with the invaders.* Immediately on the investment of the latter with the royal purple, he proposed terms of accommodation to the triumphing Goths, by which A.D.
251.

* Gibbon (v. i. p. 407) seems rather to doubt the reality of this charge against the general; but the statement of Zosimus is not only circumstantially minute, but bears every appearance of authenticity. He states expressly that Gallus was in correspondence with the enemy. *Εἰς τὸ νωτερίζειν ὁ Γάλλος τραπείας, ἐπικηρυκνύεται πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους κοινανῆσαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς κατὰ Δεκίον παρακαλῶν.* Histor. vol. i. lib. i. cap. 23.

A.D.
252. they consented to evacuate the Roman territory on being permitted to retain their booty and prisoners, and to receive an annual tribute from the Emperors. Gallus, eager to settle down in calm possession of his throne, complied with the base stipulation; and the Goths retired from Illyrium.*

It is not my purpose to detail the minutiae of the intercourse, or the aggressions committed by the northern hordes on the territories of Rome, farther than refers to their connexion with the misfortunes or invasions of the Grecian states. Their progress and inroads commenced but as the droppings of a fountain, which gradually swelled to the importance of an impetuous torrent: their leagues and treaties with the Romans were but as banks of : nd thrown up to check the advances of the rising tide; each hurrying and successive billow overthrew the baseless barrier; till at length the wide inundation swept over the plains of Italy, and Rome herself was merged beneath its resistless waves.

A.D.
254—
268. The disastrous reigns of Gallienus and Valerian commenced amidst the most adverse events, and under the most portentous auspices. In the Eastern provinces, the Persians, under

* Joan. Zonaras, Annal. tom. ii. p. 628.

their King Sapor, were committing unheard-
of ravages on the cities of Syria and Mesopotamia. On the North, the Alemanni, a tribe of the Suevi, crossed the Danube, passed the ponderous barrier of the Rhætian Alps, and penetrating as far as Ravenna, displayed their banners almost beneath the walls of Rome, till repulsed by the people and the senate,* and forced to retire with their unclaimed plunder to their native forests of Germany. In the West, the Franks had laid waste the fertile fields of Gaul, and, carrying their arms beyond the Pyrenees, Spain became for twelve succeeding years the theatre of their ravages, whence they subsequently crossed over into Mauritania, and carried into Africa the same system of plunder, rapine, and extermination.

A. D.
254—
268.

Of all the barbarians, the most dreaded were those who, having emigrated from Scandinavia to the Borysthenes, had finally seized upon the Ukraine, whence they galled the Asiatic provinces and the Eastern extremities of the overgrown Empire. Here they had, in repeated expeditions, taken possession of Pityus, Trebizond, and the cities of Bithynia; till at length, having made considerable advances in naval

* The army and both the Emperors were engaged in distant expeditions at the moment: Valerian in the East, and Gallienus at the Rhine.

A. D. tactics, they ventured to issue from the Euxine.

264—

268. They passed the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and, navigating the islands of the *Ægean*, made at *Thessalonica* their first descent upon the coasts of Greece.* There, however, they did not long delay, but, again embarking in their fleet, coasted along the shores of *Eubœa*, rounded the *Sunian* promontory, and cast anchor in the harbour of the *Piræus*. *Cleodamus* and *Dexippus* in vain essayed to protect the ruined walls, which had fallen to decay since the time of *Sylla*; the attacks of the barbarians were resistless, and *Athens* was given up to the plunder of the savage invaders.

Gallienus, aroused to energy by the vicinity of the enemy to his throne, collected a body of troops, and hurriedly crossed over into Greece. Here, however, he found it much more convenient to come to terms of accommodation, than to oppose them in the field; and accordingly purchased a dishonourable peace by receiving into the pay of the Empire large bodies of the barbarians, and disgracing the consular honours by conferring them on their leader, *Naulobatus*.†

* *Zonaras*, tom. ii. p. 81. *Zosimus*, l. i. c. 43.

† See *Gast. Hist. Greece*. This disgraceful mode of bartering glory for “inglorious ease,” is referred to by *Claudian* in the verses—

“ *Illi terribiles quibus otia vendere sæpe
Mos erat, et fœda requiem mercede pacisci.*”

The details of this, the first indignity offered to the widowed remains of Athens, strongly attests the rapidity with which the progress of headlong deterioration outstrips the painful and steady pace of improvement: barely four centuries had elapsed since the reduction of Greece, and already her debasement was completed—the descendants of those whose insulated efforts had once repelled the fiercest charges of her Persian invaders, could not now muster strength to make even a faint opposition to the advances of a swarm of undisciplined barbarians, who, on their part, so far despised their degeneracy, as to sneer at the puny efforts of their opponents. Zonaras relates, that during the spoliation of the city, one of the chiefs of the Goths, having found a party of his followers deliberating whether they should commit to the flames the libraries of Athens, and the books which had been the gift of her benefactor Hadrian, dissuaded them from the attempt by observing, “that it was more advisable to leave such baubles to the effeminate Greeks; for, whilst they luxuriated in such pursuits, the hand accustomed to the smoothness of papyrus, would but feebly grasp the brand of the warrior.”*

A. D.
254—
268.

* “Ubi cùm omnes libros in unum acervum congestos crematuri essent, unus ex cordationibus populares suos à proposito revocavit, quòd Græci, dum in iis rebus occupati rem

A. D. 254.—
268. The system of the modern Goths of Europe forms a wide contrast to that of their more warlike predecessors.

The empire of Rome seemed at this moment quivering on the dizzy verge of irretrievable ruin—its provinces in revolt, its throne disputed by nineteen rival candidates, an overwhelming force of barbarians hovering on every extremity, and a weak but despotic monarch at the head of a helpless administration. On a sudden, however, the assassination of Gallienus, whilst quelling an insurrection in Lombardy, freed the world from a tyrant, and placed, in Claudius, an energetic and talented leader at the head of the Roman power.

Scarcely, however, was he seated on the throne, when the Goths, regardless of their treaty with his predecessor, issued from the Hellespont with an armament more formidable than they had yet been able to congregate;* and whilst one portion of the fleet sailed towards the South to attack Crete and Cyprus, the main body steered for Mount Athos, and made a second landing at Thessalonica. With his usual promptitude, Claudius hastened to oppose them;

militarem negligerent, facile superari possent.—Zonar. tom. i. p. 81.

* “A fleet of 2000, or even 6000 vessels, adequate to transport their pretended army of 326,000 barbarians.”—Gibbon.

whilst they, eager for battle and confident of triumph, broke up their encampment in the North, and advanced to meet him on the plains of Macedonia.

A. D.
269.

The event was bloody, but the issue was not long uncertain. The Goths were routed in almost every encounter; and after a campaign of twelve months, and the destruction of their fleet, the mighty host melted away before the arms and policy of Claudius. One party was captured, and became tributary to the Romans; whilst the remainder, wasted by famine and pestilence, perished in the recesses of Mount Hæmus, whither they had fled for concealment from the legions of the Emperor.*

During the government of the succeeding emperors who held the sceptre of Rome from the death of Claudius to the accession of Constantine the Great, the affairs of Greece occupy no portion of the annals of the Empire; or, if her name occur, she is merely mentioned as the unresisting victim of oppressions, not the spirited agent of historic enterprise. Rome was now fast approaching to her overthrow: her insulated situation threw her at too great a distance from

A. D.
270—
324.

* Λοιμοῦ δὲ κατασχόντος πάντας αὐτοὺς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ Θράκην, οἱ δὲ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ἐφάρησαν. Ὅσοι δὲ διεσώθησαν ἢ τάγμασι Ῥωμαίων συνηριθμήθησαν, ἢ γῆν λαβόντες εἰς γεωργίαν, ταύτῃ προσεκαρτέρησαν.—Zosimus, lib. i. c. 46.

A. D. 270—
324. the extremities of her dominions; and her provinces, the most unprotected portion of her empire, were daily falling under the power of her neighbours.

These political considerations, with perhaps some other motives of personal enterprise, or a hope to retrieve the sinking honours of the state, induced Constantine to remove the seat of empire to the Bosphorus: thus founding a new capital as the centre of his territory, and leaving the city of Romulus to the viceroyalty of a proconsular delegate.

A. D.
328.

Already, before the middle of the first century, Christianity had gained a firm footing in Greece. Athens, Corinth, and Achaia, Macedonia, and Thessaly, had each received the doctrines of the Apostles; and thenceforth the progress of the new religion continued to advance with a steady and equable pace, though opposed by the priesthood of paganism and condemned by the sophists of Athens, where its establishment was the latest and least enthusiastic. In Rome, on the contrary, its early reception had not been either so favourable or so flattering; and one object of Constantine may possibly have been to establish the new capital as a fountain-head for the pure dissemination of those tenets which he had himself espoused,

and which he was anxious to propagate throughout the Empire. A. D.
322.

The experiment, however, proved a fatal one, by giving an impetus to the hastening dissolution of that coalition and concentration of force on which the duration of Roman power depended. Already divided by the bounds of nature, the territory of Rome now began to dissolve itself into two distinct portions; and even in the days of Constantine we find mention made of the empires of the East and West. Nor did he seem himself peculiarly anxious to continue their identity; and whilst the domains of Italy were left comparatively unregarded, all the munificence and benefits of the throne were lavished on Constantinople.*

The tacit dismemberment of power was, however, virtually confirmed at the death of Constantine, when the injudicious monarch divided the Empire by his will between his three sons and his nephews, which, the experience of nearly one hundred and fifty years from the first division of territory, between Severus, Geta, and A. D.
337.

* "Pour que la nouvelle ville ne cédât en rien à l'ancienne, Constantin voulut qu'on y distribuât aussi du bled, et ordonna que celui d'*Egypte* seroit envoyé à Constantinople, et celui d'*Afrique* à Rome."—Montesquieu, *La Grandeur et Decadence des Romains*, p. 208.

A. D. 337. Caracalla, might have taught him, was merely bequeathing to the state a ruinous legacy of dissension and civil war. In fact, scarcely had Constantius succeeded to the purple buskins of his father, than, by his order,* his cousins Dalmatius and Hannibalianus were murdered by his emissaries, in order that he should possess himself of Greece and the Eastern provinces which they inherited. Seven other princes of the imperial blood fell at the same time victims to his speculative ambition; and subsequently Constantine, who inherited Gaul, Spain, and Britain, being murdered by his brother Constans, who held Italy, Africa, and Illyrium; and he in turn falling a victim to assassination from the hands of Magnentius; Constantius, by revenging his death, reunited in his own person the disjointed limbs of the Empire.

Since the expulsion of the barbarians in the reign of Claudius, Greece had slowly begun to recover from the paralysing effects of so many successive ravages and spoliations; her schools were again flourishing in comparative vigour, and again the offspring of the surrounding States were returning to their accustomed springs of information and refinement, when

A. D. 361. the accession of the Emperor Julian, surnamed "the Apostate," was hailed by the Athenians as

* "Constantio sinente potius quàm jubente."—Eutrop.

the dawning of happiness; and his reign may ^{A. D.} be justly considered the last fortunate era in ^{361.} the annals of Modern Greece.

His abandonment of the religion of his family has been traced to the early circumstances of his education, and the system of cruelty exercised towards him by Constantius at an age when his youthful mind was most ready to receive the impressions of prejudice with alacrity, and retain them with firmness.* His early years he had spent in Asia Minor, amongst the disciples of the Arian controversy, and the sceptical opponents of Christianity; and his decided propensity for enquiry and investigation spurned at the idea of receiving for granted any opinions, however boldly advanced, which could not bear the test of argument and disputation. But his cautiously-concealed aversion received its final confirmation amongst the sophists of Athens, which was selected as his residence by Constantius, after the murder of his brother Gallus.†

Here, amidst the sacred groves of the Academy, and in constant intercourse with the philosophers of the age, his devotion for the gods of the Greek mythology was warmly cherished and ardently embraced; he was initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis, and at length imbibed,

* Muller, book x. sec. 2.

† Zosimus, lib. iii. c. 2.

A. D.
361. with his predilection for the religion of Greece, that passionate admiration of her soil and institutions which characterized his future administration.

One of his first acts on coming to the throne was to order the restoration and adornment of the cities of Attica and the Peloponnesus;* Athens, Argos, and Corinth, rose from their ashes with renovated splendour, and the Isthmian games were instituted anew, a tribute for their support being levied from all the districts of Greece, with the exception of Elis, Delphi, and Argos, which were exempted on the score of their former services in the furtherance of similar institutions, and their having been the seats of the Olympic, Pythian, and Nemæan games. Greece was again restored, adorned, and happy; and the most flourishing and peaceful period of her fallen history is the reign of Julian the Apostate.

A. D.
363. The dynasty of his successor Jovian was productive of no important events, either to the Greeks, or to his dominions at large; but the accession of Valentinian, and the final partition of the Eastern and Western divisions of the Empire with his brother Valens, consummated that series of causes which was shortly to overthrow the Roman power. Unable of

* Gibbon, vol. iv.

himself to protect the widely spread domains ^{A. D. 363.} which he inherited, and which were now beset with danger on every side, he acceded to the wishes of the nation, and assigned to Valens the ^{A. D. 364.} provinces of Asia, Egypt, and Greece, whilst he retained for himself Illyrium, Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Africa.

The first few years after his investiture were spent by Valens in arranging the confused affairs of his new government, and in quelling an insurrection of Procopius, a relative of the late Emperor ; whilst in the North was gathering that storm whose bursting thunder was shortly to shake to its foundation the dominion of the Romans.

The Huns, a new race of barbarians, from the confines of China, having overrun the countries to the West of the Volga, and subdued the Alani, who had settled on the borders of the Euxine, at length advanced to the boundary of Rome, and attacked, with overwhelming forces, the Goths who inhabited to the North of the Danube :* who, terrified at the advance of those (even in *their* eyes) barbarians, fled for protection to the Romans, and descending in countless hordes to the banks of the Danube, implored the assistance and shelter of the Emperor. ^{A. D. 376.} Deprived of the counsels of his elder brother,

* Gibbon.

A. D.
376. who had died the year before, and conscious that, what the Goths solicited as a favour, he had no power to withhold should they attempt it by force, Valens hastily acceded to their wishes, and gave orders for their reception and settlement in the provinces of Mœsia and Dacia.

Nearly a million of rude and uncivilized warriors were thus, by an unexpected event, quartered within the dominions of Rome; and even the only stipulation which Valens had made, that they should surrender their arms on crossing the river, was evaded, by their bribing the officers appointed to oversee their debarkation. To keep in order this new accession of savage population, would have required the utmost policy of a matured and salutary government; whilst, on the contrary, the management of them was rashly entrusted to unprincipled prefects by the improvident Valens, and the effects of his imprudence were soon fatally apparent.

Instead of seeking by the readiest and most conciliating means to arrange the location and employment of the barbarians, Lupicinus and his colleague commenced, by every species of rapine and exaction, to enrich themselves at the expense of the new settlers; and the very necessities of existence were taxed to a height which soon exhausted the resources of the

destitute strangers, who in a few months rose ^{A. D. 376.} in arms against their rapacious protectors, pitched a hostile camp within the confines of Rome, and visited the cruelties of the Consuls on the territory of the unfortunate Thracians, laying waste their lands, burning their villages, and devoting to captivity or slaughter the families of their unaggressing victims.

Too lately aware of his imprudence, Valens, who was at the time with his court at Antioch, was at length aroused to vigilance, and the troops of the Western Emperor Gratian, the successor of Valentinian, were united with those of Constantinople, under the conduct of the generals Trajan and Profuturus. They marched without delay to meet the enemy, who were encamped in the plains near the mouths of the Danube, where a battle ensued, which terminated with doubtful success on either side, but which was attended with terrific mutual slaughter.* In the mean time, the progress of the Goths was unchecked, and the flames of burning villages were visible from the walls of the Eastern capital.†

A considerable interval now elapsed ere the efforts of Valens were renewed to quell the

* "Indicant nunc usque, albentes ossibus campi."—Am-
mian. xxxi. 7.

† Muller, b. x. c. 2.

A. D.
378. insolence and ravages of the Goths; but at length, in the autumn of A.D. 378, he set out with the imperial guards and a powerful levy of cavalry and foot, and, his pride not permitting him to await the arrival of the advancing succours of his nephew Gratian, he at once gave battle to the enemy in the plains near Hadrianople. Again the fortune of the day was adverse; the Roman horse, unable to withstand the furious onset of the Goths, fled in confusion, whilst the uncovered infantry were surrounded by the foe, and perished on the field. Forty thousand Romans are said to have been slain in this imprudent encounter; and Valens himself, flying before the victorious Goths, was pursued into a cottage, which they surrounded with straw, and setting fire to it, consumed the body of the Emperor.*

In the mean time, Gratian, advancing to the aid of his uncle, learned the termination of the contest; and, conscious of his inability to retard the conquests or revenge the atrocities of the foe, he returned to the protection of his own dominions, after investing Theodosius with the purple of the East. Theodosius, aware of his inefficiency, by hostile or decisive measures, all at once to remove the dangers and distresses of the state, resolved, after some successful

* Zosimus, lib. iv. c. 24.

arrangements, to pass over with his court to ^{A. D.}Thessalonica, as a more suitable point from ^{379.}whence to observe the proceedings of the Goths, and at the same time remain sufficiently convenient to the vicinity of the capital.

Here, by a gradual concentration of his own power, and the occasional dispersion or defeat of scattered parties of the enemy, by prudence and policy, rather than by valour and impetuosity, he succeeded, in the course of five years from the death of Valens, in appeasing the irritation of the barbarians, and inducing them to settle down peaceably in the provinces which had been originally allotted for their reception.

The precautions of this prince, who has justly received the title of "the Great," were such as to ensure the tranquillity of his subjects during the subsequent years of his reign; and a stronger proof can scarcely be advanced of the efficacy of his measures, than the fact, that scarcely had the intelligence of his death been bruited through his dominions, and his sons ^{A. D.}Honorius and Arcadius succeeded to the em- ^{395.}pires of the West and East, when the barbarians were again in arms, and commenced, under Alaric, their celebrated leader, that course of invasion and rapine which terminated in the spoliation of Greece, and the final subjection of Italy and Rome. Wearied with a continuance

A.D.
395.

the country shortly after the departure of Alaric, describes in the most moving terms its utter wretchedness, and particularly specifies that of Attica and Athens.* From the long lapse of time, conjecture as to the truth must now be vague and unsatisfactory, and no historical documents remain to attest the clemency or cruelty of the Goth.

From Attica, Alaric pursued his course towards the Peloponnesus, which he overran, seizing without control on the fortresses, and de-

* “Καὶ κακὸς κακῶς ὁ θυγὼ με κομίσας ἀπόλοιτο ναυκληρὸς! . . . ὥς οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν αἱ νῦν Αῑθῆναι σεμνὸν, ἀλλὰ τι τὰ κλεινὰ τῶν χωρίων ὀνόματα, καὶ καθάπερ ἱερῶν καταπυρραγμένων, τὸ δῖγμα λείπεται, γνῶρισμα τοῦ πάλαιου ποτὶ ζῶον.” (Epist. p. 135.) Meursius, one of the most laborious explorers of Grecian Archæology, seems *rather* to coincide with the statement of Zosimus, though he makes no decided declaration of his opinion (*Fortuna Attica*, cap. x.); whilst Gibbon discards the idea, on the grounds of the partiality of Zosimus for the heathen mythology, and the probability that Alaric had never heard of Homer or Achilles. In a subsequent passage I have referred to a statement of Sidonius Apollinaris, contained in one of his Epistles to the Bishop of Rietz, which seems to confirm the assertion of Zosimus. (See vol. ii. of this History, ch. xiv. p. 246. note.) From all the circumstances, I should be inclined to think that Gibbon's picture of the misery of Athens, ensuing from its overthrow, was rather poetically exaggerated, and that it is more than probable that at least some *unexpected* lenity had been manifested towards the city of Minerva, which served as the groundwork for the story of Zosimus.

files which were betrayed to him by their treacherous guardians. Corinth, Argos, and Sparta, successively yielded to the invader, who only ceased from rapine when the peninsula was desolated from Tænarus to the Isthmus.

A. D.
395.

It was soon evident to the Greeks that they needed to entertain no hopes of aid or protection from their legitimate sovereign at Constantinople; and deputies were accordingly despatched to implore it from Honorius. These entreaties were complied with, and Stilicho, the renowned minister of the Italian court,* was despatched into the Peloponnesus with orders to expel the barbarians; his efforts, however, were not crowned with striking success. His troops, more intent upon pleasure than on active service, chose rather to blockade the followers of Alaric in the mountains of Arcadia, than to oppose them in the field; and whilst the Roman general was merely expecting a few days to elapse before he should march through the mountains and seize upon the remnant of the Goths who should have escaped death by famine, he was astonished by the news, that Alaric, having made his escape some time before, had penetrated Epirus on his return to the North, and was there pursuing his wonted course of plunder and extermination.

* Claudian *passim*.

A. D.
409.

Stilicho shortly after withdrew his troops, in consequence of an arrogant edict from the court of Arcadius, who now sought, by concessions to the Goths, to avert the repetition of ills which he could neither oppose nor retaliate; and by a disgraceful mandate of the Emperor, Alaric was shortly after invested with the government of the provinces he had devastated; whilst the united voices of the barbarians, about the same time, conferred upon him the monarchy of the Visigoths. Thus armed with overweening power, and seated between the two rival Empires, he was for some time undecided as to which he should appropriate to himself: intrigue and policy at length prevailed upon him to turn his arms against the West; and with his wonted rapidity he invaded the dominions of Honorius, which finally yielded to his arms, and the victorious Goth rode triumphant through the imperial city of the Cæsars.

A. D.
409.

Here we bid adieu to the Empire of the Romans, which henceforward ceases to have any connexion with the fate or the affairs of Greece; its feeble monarchs continued for some time after the death of the imbecile Honorius to retain the specious decorations of sovereignty, till, overrun and pillaged by successive hosts of northern savages, Rome sunk

to almost the same degree of misery into which she had been the means of plunging Athens. The name of the "Empire of the West" became soon after extinct, on the abdication of Augustulus; and Odoacer, his conquering successor, assumed the title of *King of Italy*;^{* A. D. 409.} darkness gradually gathered round the ruins of Rome, and Constantinople became the centre of all that survived to the world of science or of civilization.

* A. D. 476.

CHAPTER II.

From the Invasion of Greece by Alaric, to the Capture of Constantinople by the Latins. A. D. 395—1204.

A. D. 409. FROM the state of impoverished imbecility to which Greece was now reduced, it may naturally be supposed that some time was to elapse ere her renovated strength would again enable her to become an active agent, or her restored affluence afford an adequate allurement to fresh ravagers. In the mean time, the decline of the Empire was progressing with alarming rapidity, its national character growing every year more despicable in the eyes of its neighbours, and its hovering enemies demanding the successive surrender of its fairest provinces, as the price of a suspension of their aggressions. The Huns, who had already eclipsed the importance of her former enemies the Goths, were daily gaining fresh accessions of territory and alliance, whilst the growth of their pride was more than commensurate with

the increase of their power; district after district was invaded by their resistless bands, and province after province felt the effects of their ruinous inroads.

A. D.
382.

The wars of the Vandals, and the revolt of Count Boniface, the general of the Western Empress Placidia, in Africa, gradually led to the introduction of the Huns into Europe; and a quarrel with the court of Byzantium, arising from the refusal of the Emperor to make restitution for an alleged injury committed against some riotous disturbers of the public peace,* afforded a pretext for their invasion of the Eastern Empire, headed by their renowned leader Attila.

This distinguished barbarian, who in prowess and manly virtues surpassed the Gothic Alaric, yielded to none in frankness, hospitality, and all the gentler qualities of uncivilized life. He commanded a troop of followers, whose numbers† and valour can find no parallel in the annals of predatory warfare, whilst his reign was less over the persons than in the hearts of his devoted subjects. Such was the enemy with whom Theodosius was doomed to cope; and such the terror of his name, that, without even a show of resistance, the entire breadth of Europe, as it extends above five hundred miles

* Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 50.

† 700,000, Muller, vol. i.

A.D. 382. from the Euxine to the Adriatic seas, was at once invaded, occupied, and desolated, by the myriads whom he led into the field.

Amidst such an outstretched scene of devastation, the plunder of Greece formed but an episode in the triumphing expedition of the northern warrior, which was, however, performed with all the atrocities and horrors of the preceding invasion.

Totally deprived of any aid from foreign alliances, the terrified Emperor was glad to purchase peace from Attila by consenting to pay an annual tribute of two thousand one hundred pounds of gold, and ceding to the Huns an important territory of fifteen days journey in breadth, and extending in length from Nyssæ
A.D. 446. to Belgrade. During the seven succeeding years which intervened before the death of Attila, his presence and his exploits were equally a source of ruin to the Western, and of apprehension to the Eastern world. At length, after his evacuation of Italy, he expired, on the eve of his marriage, by the internal bursting of a blood-vessel, whilst halting on the banks of the Danube.

He was interred after the ancient manner of the fathers of his nation, the Huns cutting off their hair, and gashing their faces with hideous wounds, to bewail their chieftain, not with effe-

minate tears, but with the blood of warriors. ^{A. D. 448.} His body, placed beneath a silken pavilion, was exhibited in the midst of the plain, whilst the horsemen of his tribe rode around it, and celebrated his exploits in funereal hymns. In the darkness of midnight, the remains of Attila were enclosed in a golden, and again in a silver coffin, to mark that the Romans and the Greeks had been his tributaries; and all was enveloped in an iron chest, to indicate the untamed ferocity of his dominion. The trappings of his war-horse, and his royal insignia were committed to the same sepulchre with himself; and the slaves who hollowed out his tomb were slain when the work was finished, in order that no mortal might disclose the last resting-place of the warrior of the Huns.*

During the interval between the death of Theodosius (A. D. 450), and the accession of Justinian (A. D. 527), the southern districts of Greece enjoyed a season of comparative peace, although the plains of Thessaly and Thrace endured, in the reign of Zeno, a return of those ^{A. D. 475.} misfortunes, from which they seemed doomed to hope for no deliverance. Their new destroyer was Theodoric, lord of the Ostrogoths, whose exploits need no recapitulation, as they were merely a reiteration of the former

* Gibbon and Muller.

A. D. thingness of his reign is the fact that it was
527— productive of no solid advantages to the State;
565. it was merely a glowing episode in a tale of ruin — a meteor in a midnight sky, which flashes brightly for an instant, and vanishing leaves no halo of its transient brilliancy behind.

His dynasty was one continued series of domestic reformation and of external good fortune, but his temporary measures were productive of no permanent results; his successors were neither able to retain his conquests, nor support the salutary institutions which he founded. His capital he embellished by edifices the most costly which the declining state of the arts could produce; and amongst others the Cathedral of St. Sophia rose from its ruins with renovated and surpassing splendour. The walls and towers of Constantinople were repaired; and six hundred fortresses, which had at various times been razed throughout the defiles of northern Greece, were rebuilt or restored to their original strength by the provident care of Justinian.* Athens, too, and the states of the Morea, attracted his attention, and the fortifications of the Piræus and the Acropolis, which successive wars had shattered, were again put into a state of defence by the indefatigable Emperor; whilst the restoration of the fortresses of

* Procop. de Edif. lib. iv. c. 2.

Corinth and the Isthmus gave promise of permanent protection to the Peloponnesus.*

A. D.
527—
565.

But not merely the military and statistical affairs of the East derived advantage from the industry of Justinian; every department of the domestic policy received equal attention from the energy of his genius, and his celebrated pandects of the Roman law still remain a monument of his comprehensive administration. Under his reign, Greece has to date the close of that long line of philosophers who have shed a lustre over her history, and added at least one half the interest which attaches to her name. The universal prevalence of Christianity had, however, long since given the death-blow to the mythology of her schools, and the utilitarian eye of Justinian merely recognized in her sophists and philosophers the antiquated adherents of an exploded theory. His celebrated edict dispersed “the schools of Athens;” and from that moment Greece became but the carcase of herself, the worthless and fading trunk of a lofty but departed spirit.

* Μετὰ δε τὴν Ἑπειρον ὅλην, Ἀιτωλοὺς τε καὶ Ἀχαρνάνας, ὃ τε Κρισσαῖος κόλπος, ὃ τε Ἰσθμὸς, ἦτε Κόρινθος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς Ἑλλάδος χωρία, τῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ μάλιστα προνοίας ἡξιούν-ται—ἔλιντε περιβαλὼν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι, κατέπαυσε τὴν ὑπερ τῆς κατηκόων σπουδῆν.—Procopius, Περὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰουστ. κτισμ. lib. iv. p. 27.

A. D. 527—
565. Down to the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, her history is blank :* the Peloponnesus and Attica seemed to rest in almost total torpor, their solitary shores being occasionally selected as a place of banishment for the factious minions of Eastern tyranny ;† whilst the casual mention of their names in the chronicles of the middle ages, merely indicates that they still remained a portion of the Emperor's territory, a withered limb of a fast-decaying body.

Thrace and the North, which lay contiguous to the haunts of the barbarians, seems, however, to have never enjoyed a respite from their sufferings.

The Bulgarians, a new race of ravagers, were the next who succeeded to the Ostrogoths in carrying on the plunder and spoliation of her devoted plains ; and from their first appearance in A. D. 680, down to their final overthrow by Baldwin II., in A. D. 979, a bloody conflict was maintained between their leaders and the Grecian generals, in which neither party

* Chateaubriand, vol. i. Introd. p. xxvii.—“ Justinien luy voulut du bien, mais depuis ce temps-là pendant sept cens ans, on n'entend plus parler d'elle, soit à cause du défaut de l'histoire, qui est courte et obscure dans ces siècles-là, ou que la fortune luy eut accordé ce long repos. Elle recommença de paroître sur le théâtre au treizième siècle.”—Spon, vol. ii. p. 119.

† Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 30.

could claim the honour of a triumph, and in which the wretched Thracians, whom it was designed to protect, became the only sufferers. A. D.
527—
565.

In the reign of Theophilus, a host of the Sclavi, another branch of the Bulgarians, who had already infested the Empire during the life of Justinian,* made a descent upon Greece, and penetrated from Epirus to the extremity of the Morea, where for a long series of years they continued to ravage the plains and oppress the inhabitants of the unprotected districts. At length the successful arms of Theoctistus, a general despatched to oppose them by Michael III. subdued and expelled the greater number of them, and compelled the remainder, the Milengi and Ezzeritæ, who had settled in Lacedæmon and Elis, to become tributary to the Emperor, and pay an annual sum of 1200 pieces of gold to his treasury.† A. D.
842.

After so many rapidly succeeding spoliations, the imagination of the reader must be taxed to discover by what means, under the unpropitious dominion of her masters, the crushed energies of Greece were able, in such brief intervals, to restore her to that point of importance which could afford a sufficient allurements to the ex-

* Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 278.

† This circumstance (of which I do not remember that Gibbon makes any mention) is related by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De adminis. Imp. cap. 50.*

A. D.
842. peditions of her distant destroyers. But the fadeless richness of her soil, the beauties of her climate, and the versatile genius of her sons, seem to have been adequate to supply exhaustless stores of wealth, and fresh objects of attraction to each succeeding host of spoilers, till, in the annals of her oft-regenerated fields, she seems to resemble some rich perennial plant, whose buds are destroyed by the storms of each revolving winter, but whose hardy stem needs but a few genial hours of sunshine to throw out fresh shoots and lovelier flowers.

The bands of foreign enemies, who from time to time commenced aggressions on the territory of Rome, seem to have felt an equal ambition to despoil the shores of Greece, and each appears to have considered his course of triumphs incomplete till he had added to the list of his conquests the plunder of her degraded cities; and as the ponderous mass of the Roman tyranny, which had so long and so widely encrusted the energies of the world, began, like the boundless fields of ice which gird the poles, to feel the ground-swell of increasing knowledge, and be broken up by its influence into minor portions, or resolve itself into separate dynasties, the ambition of those nations gradually springing from, or settling on, its disjointed fragments, soon led them to become the

spoilers instead of the dependents of the parent ^{A. D.}
state. ^{842.}

Greece, which lay midway between the two grand dynasties of the Eastern and Western world, became the passive sufferer from their mutual dissensions, and the weak point which was on all occasions attacked, either to satisfy the cruelty or revenge the injuries of the belligerents.

In A. D. 1146, Roger, son of the first King ^{A. D.}
of Sicily, solicited, by means of his ambassadors, ^{1146.}
an alliance with the Comnenian family, who then reigned at Constantinople; but the insolence of his representative having exasperated Manuel the Emperor, the treaty was broken off, in terms which reflected insult on the rejected suitor, who, as usual, sought compensation for the injury by attacking the unoffending provinces of Greece. His fleet of seventy sail accordingly appeared before Corfu, which was without delay surrendered by its inconsiderate citizens; and from thence the army of Roger pursued their march into Epirus and Attica. Thebes, Athens, and Corinth, were successively plundered by the victorious Normans who composed the armament; and Roger, among other spoils, carried off with him to Sicily a number of those who understood the manufacture of silk, which had been introduced from

A. D. 1146. China by Justinian, and now constituted the chief wealth of Greece and the Morea.*

An interval of nearly a century now occurs, in which no mention is made of the affairs of this ill-fated country ; but a period was fast approaching in which she was again to undergo a change of masters, and become the victim of new wars, in whose origin or issue she had neither participation nor interest. I refer to the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders, in A.D. 1204. But in order to give a connected idea of the causes which led to so singular a revolution, and thus armed one wing of the Empire for the subversion of the other, it will be necessary for me to recall the events of the

* Gibbon and Otho Frisingensis in Muratori Scrip. Ital. vol. vi. Chateaubriand supposes it to have been at this period that the Peloponnesus exchanged its name to that of the Morea. He supposes that the increasing traffic in silk called for a more extended cultivation of mulberry-trees for the support of the worms. "C'est à peu près à cette époque que le Peloponèse changea son nom en celui de Morée; du moins je trouve ce nom employé par l'historien Nicetas. Il est probable que les vers à soie venant à se multiplier dans l'orient, on fut obligé de multiplier les *muriers*: le Peloponèse prit son nouveau nom de l'arbre qui faisoit sa nouvelle richesse." He thus supposes that "Morea" is derived from the Greek *Μορία*, a mulberry-tree; but that derivation, together with another equally popular, which deduces it from a corruption of *Ὠραία*, beautiful, appears to be fallacious. From the maritime situation of the Peninsula, and its numerous harbours and bays, it most probably received its name

epoch which immediately preceded this important occurrence. A. D.
1146.

The political separation of the Eastern and Western dynasties, which had been invisibly but gradually progressing from the death of Constantine, received its definitive confirmation in the reign of Honorius and Arcadius, or rather in the overthrow of the influence of the latter by Alaric the Goth. But the tie of old association, and the stronger bond of a mutual religion, still served to keep up a friendly intercourse, and a firm but undefined connexion between the courts of Rome and Constantinople. Even this interchange of kindness was, however, soon to pass away; and that spirit of disunion and argument,* which has all along been the baneful characteristic of the Greeks, was not long in discovering a pretext for discussion in their

from the Sclavi, who in the reign of Michael III., about A. D. 863, precipitated themselves over almost the whole of Greece (Const. Porph. de Adm. Imp.); and a large proportion of whose blood is still supposed to be flowing in the veins of the modern Mainotes. "Mor," in the language of the Slavonians, signifies *the sea*, and the modern *Morlachs* are so called from the position of their country.

It was thus three centuries before the incursion of Roger that it changed its name; and though it is called the *Peloponnesus* by Anna Comnene (An. Comn. lib. ii. cap. 9.) and others in the interim, it may naturally be supposed that the modern name would require some time totally to supplant the classical one.

* Montesquieu Grand. et Decad. cap. 22.

A. D.
1146. mans had become acquainted with the existence of the Turks, who, leaving their habitations in the Altai mountains of Tartary,* diffused themselves over the East; and finally settled in Armenia Minor or Turcomania, on the banks of the Sea of Asoph. Here, for nearly two centuries, they remained, a race despised and almost unknown, till the internal dissensions of the Saracens gave them an opportunity of appearing on the scene, and finally possessing themselves of the fairest provinces in the Eastern world.

These conquerors, (the Saracens,) the mingled descendants of the Africans and Arabs, had commenced their inroads on the dominions of the Empire so early as A. D. 632, and pursued their triumphs with such rapidity, that in the space of four years, they made themselves masters of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, and still following up the course of their good fortune, succeeded in adding to these Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Rhodes, and concluded a peace with Constantine the Second, A. D. 648, on the terms of retaining the vast territories they had seized, and paying an annual tribute of one thousand nummi to the Emperor. The observance of the truce was not however long

* "Sunt autem Turci gens Hunnica, populosissima et libera, Caucasiorum montium septentrionale latus incolens."
—Joan. Zonaras, Annal. p. 126.

adhered to; and in A. D. 671, they again commenced hostilities, seized on Crete, landed on the southern coast of Sicily, plundered Cilicia, and crossing over into Thrace from Smyrna, finally laid siege to Constantinople. Their attempts, however, proved abortive, and after the reiterated assaults of seven successive summers, they were forced to retire with the loss of 30,000 men, amongst whom was Abu Ayub, or Job, the last of the surviving companions of Mahomet, whose remains are now covered by the splendid mosque which bears his name, erected by Mahomet the Second, and in which is performed the ceremony of the inauguration of the Turkish Sultans.

A. D.
1146.

A second attempt to reduce the capital was made at a later period,* but with no better success; and those repulses at Constantinople may be considered as the most striking, and, in fact, almost the *only* checks which had been given to the rapidly increasing power of the Saracens, who continued, till the beginning of the eleventh century, to hold possession of the vast dominions they had seized.

At length, in A. D. 1031,† Mahomet of Ghasna, son of Sambrael, the first prince who, under the dominion of the Caliphs, had assumed the title of "Sultan," commenced a war

* A. D. 716, 718.

† Gib. Hist. World, p. 8.

A. D.
1146. upon the Chief of Bagdad, which he found himself unable to maintain, and invited into his army the tribe of Seljuk, the most valiant and numerous among the Turks. His new allies were, however, destined shortly to become the lords of the Sultan; some acts of arbitrary power on the part of Mahomet, forced the soldiers of Togrul Bey (or, as he is styled by the Byzantine historians, Tangrolopix,) into rebellion, the issue of which was, the overthrow of the Sultan and the elevation of the Turkish Chieftain to his throne. He soon added to his dominions those of the Sultan of Babylon, whom he had originally been invited to subdue; his conquests and those of his immediate successors, extended over Cappadocia, Media, Lycaonia, and Bithynia; till at length their power was firmly established in the centre of the Byzantine dominions, and they fixed their capital at Nice, within a short distance of the borders of the Propontis.*

From this centre the circumference of their conquests was daily becoming more expanded; and Asia Minor, a portion of the Eastern empire, and Palestine, then under the dominion of the Caliphs, were subdued by the victorious Turks, who had assumed the religion of Mahomet, and amalgamated their own manners with those of the Arabs.

* A. D. 1080.

In the mean time, the weak monarchs of the Eastern empire were contributing, by debauchery and submission, to accelerate the hurrying overthrow of their dominions, which had already become tributary to Haroun Alraschid, the most powerful of the Saracen Caliphs. Amidst all their surrounding misery, no curtailments were made in the gaudy splendours of the Oriental court,* whose magnificence contrasted wildly with the surrounding wretchedness of their desolate domains. In the North, the warlike inhabitants of Hungary and Bulgaria were making ceaseless descents upon the subjugated provinces of Macedonia and Thrace; whilst Asia Minor already submitted to the yoke of the Islamites, and the Emperor daily saw beneath the walls of Constantinople the hosts of the triumphing foe, who was shortly to be seated on the throne of the Imperial Constantine. This consummation, however, was retarded by the unanimous uprising of the Western world, in order to recover the Holy Land from the power of the infidels, who thus, occupied with affairs of more vital importance, put off till a later period the easy victory over the Empire of the East.

In the hands of the Caliphs, who had, soon after the death of Mahomet, included Palestine in the circuit of their conquests, the approach

* M. Rabbe, p. 31.

A. D.
1146. of the Pilgrims from Europe to the Holy Sepulchre had been unimpeded, or at least unburthened by any galling exactions of the Mahometans; but when, in A. D. 1065, the city changed its masters, a new order of things was introduced by the victorious Turks, and the cruelties exercised towards the devotees of the Sacred Shrine, led to the establishment of the first Crusade in A. D. 1099. The events of this and the subsequent expeditions in A. D. 1144 and A. D. 1188, are both too well known to require a detail, and have too little connexion with the subject to be introduced in the present sketch; and I now come to the period of the fourth Crusade in A. D. 1203, whose event was productive of results so important to the destinies of Greece.

From the earliest period of the intercourse between the Greeks and Latins, each had conceived for the other a contempt which they seldom failed to express in words or ratify by action. The Greek, on his part, proud of his pre-eminence in literature and art, despised the rude aspirings of his warlike superiors; whilst the haughty and advancing Roman looked down with insulting hauteur on the debased and retrograding genius of his vassals. This enmity had been heightened by that oppression which must occur during a long and varying series of subjection; and the aversion had

gained its acmé by the events which I have referred to at the period of the restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne. During the first Crusades, the inhabitants of Constantinople were the unwilling hosts of the countless hordes of schismatics who followed in the suite of the champions of the Cross; and, as in all ages of the Church, a sectarian has been esteemed more hostile than a heretic, the kindnesses and accommodations which they were *forced* to bestow on the soldiers of the sacred cause, were invariably accompanied by those undefined insults which they were enabled to manifest with impunity: they testified in every expression an aversion to the persons and religion of the Crusaders, and in the expedition of Louis VII. the Greek clergy are said to have washed and purified an altar which had been defiled by the officiation of a Latin priest.*

A. D.
1146.

These were, however, inadequate provocations for the hostile retribution of the Italians, till at length their long-stifled thirst for vengeance was gratified with a pretext for retaliation, in the murder of the Frank inhabitants of Constantinople, on the accession of Andronicus Comnenus, in A. D. 1183, whilst a domestic quarrel of the Eastern claimants of the throne brought them to a speedy decision on their plans of action.

* Gibbon, vol. ii.

A. D.
1185.

On the deposition of the tyrant Andronicus, he had been succeeded by Isaac Angelus, a wretch who outdid him in cruelty, while he was totally divested of those manlier traits which had redeemed the character of his predecessor. His reign, however, was of short continuance, and his brother Alexius became his successor, when his vices compelled the nation to dethrone him. The degraded monarch was taken prisoner by the soldiers of Alexius in Macedonia, whither he had fled for refuge; and being conducted to the capital, was deprived of his eyes and thrust into a dungeon by the orders of his unnatural brother: his son, however, a youth of about twelve years of age, had contrived to escape in an Italian vessel, which landed him in Sicily, at the period when Fulke of Neuilly was imitating the enthusiasm of Peter the Hermit, and arousing the European princes to the formation of a coalition for the recapture of Jerusalem, which had relapsed into the possession of the Infidels about twelve years before.

The leading monarchs of Christendom, Frederick II. of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard of England, were by no means disposed to re-act those scenes of slaughter and privation which, in pious performance of their vows, they had already un-

dergone; but the banner of the Cross was soon ^{A. D. 1185.} surrounded by the Barons and Peers of the several powerful dynasties of Europe, who, aided by the naval force of the Venetians, speedily arranged the expedition.

This renowned Republic, which sprang from a few Mantuan and Veronese peasants, who, in the invasion of Attila, had settled in the fens and northern islands of the Adriatic, already engrossed the most extensive commerce, and possessed the most redoubtable naval influence in the Mediterranean. Like all nations endowed with an elastic spirit, oppression seemed only to arouse, not to quench, their energies; and so rapid was the progress of their advancement, that in A. D. 839, they were courted by the Emperor Michael as an influential ally against the aggressions of the Saracens. From that period a friendly intercourse had subsisted between them and the court of Byzantium, which in A. D. 1084 invested them with the territories of Dalmatia and Croia; and in the first Crusade they had supplied two hundred galleys to the armament of the "Holy Alliance."

Like the Latins, however, the Venetians had latterly received just cause of indignation against the court of Constantinople. Alexius, taking advantage of the absence of their fleet in Palestine, had made a treacherous attempt

A. D.
1185. upon their territory, about the time when Ascalon had fallen before the prowess of the Crusaders. The Venetians, however, had early intimation of his designs; and not only succeeded in frustrating them, but in exacting ample vengeance for the attempted aggression, by the capture of Lesbos, Andros, Samos, and Scio.

The preliminaries of the Crusade being arranged by the Barons of France and their associates, application was made for the coalition of Venice, which was gladly and readily complied with. Previously, however, to parting for Palestine, the Doge Henrico Dandolo prevailed upon the allied Christians to assist in reducing some of the rebellious subjects of the State in Dalmatia; and the first effort of the warlike armament, after issuing from the Lagoon, was the siege of Zara, a strong city on the Sclavonian coast, which had rejected the dominion of Venice and sought the protection of the King of Hungary.*

It was at this juncture that the young Prince Alexius besought Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, the leader of the Crusade, to assist him in deposing his uncle and restoring his father Isaac to the throne of Constantinople. His suit was complied with on the terms of his binding himself to pay 200,000 marks of silver

* Marcellus et alii de vita, &c. Duc. Venet.—Gibbon, vol. ii.

to the Crusade, to support a body of troops for the service of the Holy Land, and to put an end to the schism of the Greek and Latin churches, by restoring Constantinople to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman See. The acquiescence of the allies was not, however, unanimous; but the interest and influence of Dandolo was sufficient to carry the point.

This "Octogenarian Chief" * had treasured up a long list of injuries inflicted by the Byzantines, for which the moment was now come to exact appalling vengeance; and his mental foresight in the direction of the retributive armament was by no means diminished by the burning recollection, that the Emperor Manuel had, some years before, violated in his person the sacred right of an Ambassador, *by inhumanly depriving him of his eyes.*

At length, on the 7th of April, 1203, the expedition issued from the Adriatic, wound through the mazes of the Ægean, passed the Hellespont, and safely came to anchor in the Bay of Scutari, on the Asiatic coast of Constantinople; the troops were disembarked, and the hostile camp of the Crusaders was pitched beneath the walls of the capital. A few days

* Villehardouin states, that the Doge was upwards of ninety at the period when he led the expedition to Constantinople.—"Plus de nonante années."—L'Hist. ou Chron. de Geoffroi Villehardouin.

A. D.
1203. were spent in recruiting the exhausted forces, and in vain negotiations with the terrified Emperor; and on the 10th the mighty host prepared to pass the Bosphorus and invest the walls, which were bravely defended by Theodore Lascaris, the son-in-law of the usurper, who aspired at once to rescue and rule his country.

In a short time, and with little opposition from the besieged, the ground was levelled, the ditch filled, and two hundred and fifty engines of assault commenced their battery on the tottering walls; whilst, on the side of the sea, the energies of the soldiery were bravely supported by the navy of Venice, and its warlike admiral. "In the midst of the conflict," says Gibbon,* "the Doge, a venerable and conspicuous form, stood aloft in complete armour on the prow of his galley, the great standard of St. Mark was displayed before him, his exhortations urged the diligence of his rowers, the vessel was the first that struck, and Dandolo was the first warrior on the shore."

Awed by the firmness and the prowess of his opponents, Alexius made but a faint show of opposition, and as evening closed upon the strife, he withdrew his troops within the walls. During the night, he collected the mass of his disposable wealth, and descending to the banks

* Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 215.

of the Bosphorus, embarked in a hired vessel, and fled into shameful exile to the wilds of Thrace: whilst his subjects, informed of his flight, burst open at midnight the dungeon of his unfortunate brother, and leading him to the palace, reinstated the blind monarch on his throne. At the dawn of day they apprised the Latins of their conquest, and hurried away the youthful Prince to the embraces of his parent, whose life and fortunes he had been the means of preserving.

Peace now seemed restored to the dominions of Isaac, and his heroic boy Alexius was crowned joint-partner of his empire; but the specious tranquillity was not of long continuance: the debased minds of the Greeks were little interested in the decision of who was to hold the throne, nor had they any peculiar predilection for Alexius, more than for his dethroned predecessor. Their indifference, however, soon increased to discontent, when they began to suffer from the exactions which the young monarch was forced to levy on his people, in order to perform his stipulated engagements with the Crusaders; and his efforts to re-unite the Greek and Latin churches stamped him, in the opinion of his sectarian subjects, as an apostate, and a subverter of his father's faith: Isaac, too, had long since rendered himself odious by his crimes, and the impotency of age now added double

A. D.
1203.

CHAPTER III.

From the Conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders to
the final expulsion of the Latins.—A. D. 1204—1261.

A. D. 1204. CONSTANTINOPLE was now delivered over to the plunder of the victorious Latins, who in a great degree destroyed the countless mass of art and luxury which they tore down from every quarter of the capital, and bore to one common heap for equitable distribution; and the pages of the Greek historian Nicetas, who was himself a victim and witness of the spoliation, contain as many and as bitter lamentations over the ruin of those matchless treasures which he enumerates, as regrets for the overthrow of his fortunes and his country's independence.

The lawful succession to the Byzantine crown was now, however, suspended; and the next duty which remained to the Crusaders, was to proceed to the election of a sovereign for the territory of which they had so unex-

pectedly possessed themselves. The choice of the twelve umpires appointed by the several nations immediately fixed on the venerable Dandolo; but, on his declining the intended honour, the competition rested between Baldwin Count of Flanders, and Boniface Marquis of Montferrat; the former of whom was, by the influence of the Venetians, appointed to the Imperial honours. To him was assigned one-fourth part of the new territory, together with the prerogatives of the crown, and the royal palaces of Boucoleon and Blaquerne; whilst the three remaining portions were divided between the state of Venice and the Barons of France, as feudatories of the Emperor Baldwin.*

A. D.
1204.

The items of this allotment are given by Paolo Ramnusio, but with so much confusion, and such egregious ignorance of the names and geography of the several districts, that it is almost impossible to form from his enumeration any minute schedule of the territory of the several individuals. So far, however, as regards the grand features of the distribution, we know, that whilst the greater number of the influential barons were settled in Asia Minor, and the provinces to the east of the *Ægean*, Baldwin retained the northern districts in his own por-

* Dandolo was excepted from doing homage for his allotment in Romania.—Gibbon.

A. D.
1204. tion, and the Venetians selected for themselves the most convenient commercial stations throughout the coasts, in the vicinity of the capital, the islands, and the southern and western shores of Greece and the Morea.

To Boniface was allotted a portion of territory to the east of the Bosphorus, which, however, he prudently exchanged for the province of Macedonia, under the title of King of Thessalonica, and commenced the extension, and at the same time the concentration of his power, by giving up to the Venetians the Island of Candia* (Crete), in exchange for 1000 marks of silver, and a portion of country in Mace-

* "When Michael Balbus sat on the throne of Constantinople,† the rebellion of Thomas, which lasted three years, caused him to neglect the other parts of the empire. The Agarenians (a people of Arabia), who had conquered the finest province of Spain, seized that opportunity. They fitted out a considerable fleet, plundered the Cyclades, attacked Crete, and made themselves masters of it without opposition. In order to secure their conquest, they built a fortress which they named *Khandak* (intrenchment), and which, under the Venetians, assumed the name of *Candia*."—Savary's Letters from Greece.

After the conquest by the Arabs, Crete remained under their dominion down to the reign of Nicephoras Phocas,‡ who reunited it to the empire of Constantinople, to which it was nominally attached down to the period of the fourth Crusade.

† Constant. Porphyro.

‡ Meursius.

donia, whose annual revenue would amount to A. D.
1204.
10,000 florins.*

* There seems to be considerable confusion in the several accounts of the manner in which the Marquis became possessed of this important island. Villehardouin states, that he got it from Baldwin: "Bonifaces le Marchis de Montferrat li (Baldwin) requist ses conuenances qui il li attendit, si com il li deuoit donner la terre d'oltre le Braz (*the straits*) deuers Turchie, et l'isle de Crete" (p. 108): and Gibbon, who slightly refers to the matter, adds in a note, "that he cannot understand how it (*Crete*) should be his *mother's portion*, or how she could be the daughter of an emperor Alexius," (vol. xi. p. 249.) I do not know where Gibbon got this idea, but the explanation of the matter is as follows:

P. Ramnusio states, that Boniface was a relation by marriage of the young Prince Alexius, son of the Emperor Isaac, "perche Corrado fratello di Bonifacio era marito de Teodora Constantinopolitana, zia dell medesimo Alessio;" (Book ii. p. 240.): and in "The Life and Exploits of the Doges of Venice, by Marcellus and others," a work not referred to by Gibbon, it is stated, that the island was surrendered to Alexius when the fleet of the Crusaders was on its way to Constantinople, and that the Prince immediately presented it to Boniface, *less*, perhaps, as his relation, than because he commanded the expedition. "Dum Cretam insulam perlambuntur, Cretenses per legatos ipsam insulam Alexio puero dederunt, qui eam Bonifacio Montisferrati sibi cognatione conjuncto donavit," (Marc. et al. de Vitâ et reb. gest. Ducum Venet. p. 50.) Its insulated situation was, no doubt, the cause of its surrender to the maritime Venetians by the Marquis, and its subsequent tenure proved to them a source of never-ending tumult and expense. For the items of its exchange by Boniface, see Villehardouin, Marcellus et alii, Ramnusio, &c. &c.

A. D.
1204.

Greece and the Empire were now thoroughly disunited, and broken up into petty and independent feuds. Palestine, France, and the Pope (Innocent III.), had been informed of and acquiesced in the operations and disposal of the Crusaders, and a new era, under new masters, was about to commence in the history of Greece. The very nature, however, of the new arrangements was such as must appear, on the first glance, calculated to be productive of anarchy and bloodshed, where so many petty tyrants were placed in collision, with no check save a nominal control, and owning no law but the decisions of the sword; and, in fact, scarcely three months had elapsed, ere Baldwin and Boniface were embroiled in a quarrel, by the insolence of the former in *forcing* a passage through the territory of the latter, and receiving the homage of his cities and his subjects; but the influence of the Doge and the firmness of the Peers were quickly successful in producing a reconciliation, and restitutions for the mutual injuries inflicted by the rival monarchs during the period of their hostility.* Each retired to the pursuit of his individual designs;—Baldwin to calm the incipient turbulence of his own subjects; and Boniface to the execution of his

* Villehardouin, No. 146, 158.

meditated descent upon the southern provinces, ^{A. D. 1204.} where his attempts were ultimately crowned with only partial success.

During that era of confusion, assassination, and dethronement, which preceded the conquest of Constantinople, Greece seems to have been totally unheeded amidst, or at least unaffected by, the revolutions of the Empire, whilst her impoverished population appear to have been supported chiefly by the manufacture of silks, or the sale of honey and the other spontaneous or ill-cultivated produce of her mountains. By degrees, too, her districts began to form themselves into petty feuds, under the respective chiefs whom choice or power had raised to their command, and the administration of the capital was either too weak or too indolent to interfere in their suppression.

At the period of the division of the Empire, several of these independent despots continued to maintain their rule and their estates, whilst their ambition or turbulence became a source of never-failing annoyance to the Latins. Amongst these the most distinguished were Leo Chamaretas, the chief of Maina, of whom I shall speak hereafter, and Leo Sgurus, the Signor of Napoli di Romania. The latter was the son of an influential and wealthy citizen, but of obscure

A. D. birth, who had raised himself to the tyranny of
1204. his native city,* and left his possessions and his power to his successor. Leo inherited the ambition as well as the wealth of his parent, and, taking advantage of the confusion of the state, had increased his own signiory by seizing on the neighbouring district of Argos. He then married the daughter of the fugitive emperor Alexius, and, by his counsel, had the audacity to lay siege to the city of Athens.† This, however, he was obliged to abandon, in consequence of its valorous defence by Choniates, the Archbishop, and brother to Nicetas the historian; and Sgurus, having taken possession of, or rather ravaged, the greater portion of the districts through which he passed, returned to his capital at Nauplia.

A third usurper of some distinction was Michael, a prince of the house of Angelus, son of John the Sebastocrator, and cousin to the late emperors Isaac and Alexius. On the partition of the Empire, he had preferred attaching himself to the party of the Marquis Montferrat, and had accordingly passed over with him into

* Nicetas, Ramnusio, Villehardouin, &c.

† Καὶ προῖων ἀεὶ τοῖς ληστεύμασι (Λέων ὁ Σγουρὸς) εἶτα καὶ ταῖς Ἀθήναις αὐταῖς προσήραξε, μετὰ πολεμικῶν νηῶν, καὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν διελθόντος στρατεύματος, ἐλπίσι θαλπόμενος, ὡς εὐμορῶς κρατήσῃ της Ἀκροπόλεως, &c.—Nicetas.

Greece, where he was soon after employed on an expedition for his patron. Instead, however, of adhering to the interests of Boniface, he escaped to Durazzo, (formerly Dyracchium,) when, by corrupting the Governor, and taking his daughter in marriage, he contrived to possess himself of the city,* and a large portion of the adjoining territory in Ætolia, Acarnania,

A. D.
1204.

* Gibbon does not mention *from whom* Michael wrested the possession of Durazzo, nor is it very clear in whose power it was then included ; but from a passage in Marcellus, I am inclined to think that it had been a little before claimed by the Venetians : “ Diracchio quem Græci imperatores destitutum reliquerant, præsidium imposuit.”—(Marcellus et alii, p. 50.) This investment was made by Thomas the Antistes of Baldwin, but evidently, from the passage, *for the Venetians*.

In fact, for two centuries previous to the usurpation of Michael, the history of this portion of Greece is almost a blank. From the period when Alaric, on his retreat from the Peloponnesus, laid waste the fields of Epirus, down to the eleventh century, its annals are merely a reiteration of miseries inflicted by his barbarian successors Attila and Genseric, the Huns, the Bulgarians, the Servians, the Scalvi, and the Vlachi, or Wallachians, the remnant of which latter are still to be found, retaining all the ancient customs and language of their tribe, amongst the hills of Epirus and Macedonia.

In 1081, it was invaded by the chivalrous Norman, Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, against whom it was in vain defended by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, father to Anna the historian. Robert invested Durazzo in the beginning of June, and succeeded in reducing it only in the following

A. D.
1204. and Epirus, including the cities of Ioannina, Arta, and Naupactus.* Here he shortly after united his forces with those of Sgurur; and in the subsequent opposition of the latter to the

year, partly by enduring valour, but principally by means of bribing the Venetian garrison who held it for the Emperor.

From Durazzo he penetrated the mountains of Albania and Thessaly, ravaging as he passed, and laying waste the possession of the Greeks. He finally advanced almost to the walls of Thessalonica; and already the capital was trembling for his progress, when the turbulence of his Apulian subjects compelled his hasty return to Italy.

Boemond, his son, remained, however, to pursue the conquests of his adventurous sire; and followed with such deadly success his devastating footsteps, that the successive inroads of the father and the son are compared by the Grecian historian who details their progress, to the ravages of the caterpillar and the locust, the last destroying what the first had spared. (Anna Comnena, Lib. p. 35.)

The career of Boemond was, however, finally checked by the energies of Alexius, and after a defeat in the vicinity of Larissa, he was forced to "abandon the conquests which he could not defend," and embark with his attenuated troops for Italy.

Robert subsequently attempted a second invasion of Epirus, but his efforts were crowned with no signal success, and death put a final period to his career, in the Island of Cephalonia, in the 70th year of his age, July 17, 1085. From that era up to the division of the Eastern Empire, and the usurpation of Michael, the history of Epirus is, as I have observed before, an almost total blank.

* *Ἰωαννῖναν γὰρ ἤρχε καὶ Ἀγρῆς καὶ μέχρι Ναυπάκτου.*

— See Acropolita, Hist. c. viii. &c.

encroachments of the Marquis, Michael remained his firm and efficient ally. A. D.
1204.

In the mean time, Boniface, firmly settled in his new kingdom, commenced the execution of his design of subjugating the remaining provinces of Greece. Some minor conquests in the North prepared the way for his descent upon Larissa, where he was met by the troops of Sgurus and Michael. Their efforts to check his progress were, however, ineffectual, and Boniface, unmoved by their opposition, advanced upon Thermopylæ, which, after a weak resistance on the part of its defenders, was surrendered to his arms, and opened for him a passage to Bœotia and Attica.

As he advanced upon these, the inhabitants of the Island of Eubœa sent to surrender it into his hands, and two commissioners, Jacques D'Auvernes and Raniero Carcero, were despatched to receive their homage and take possession in the name of the Marquis. Boniface conferred the principality of the island on Carcero, in whose family it remained for a long series of years, till his grandson, finding himself unable to retain it, ceded it to Venice. He next advanced upon Thebes and Athens;* and

* Meursius, Fort. At. p. 109. Nicetas.—Προϊὼν δὲ κρατεῖ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ τῇ Ἀκροπόλει φρουρὰν ἐγκαθίστησιν.

A. D.
1204. having with equal facility taken possession of these, prepared to invade the Morea, and invest the fortresses of Napoli di Romania* and Corinth. Sgurus, however, had taken ample precautions for their protection, and a long period was put to the triumphs of Montferrat, who, dividing his army into two portions, despatched one, under the command of Jacques D'Auvernes, to the siege of Corinth, whilst he led on

* Athens was surrendered to Boniface by Michael Choniates, (brother to Nicetas the historian,) Archbishop of the Athenians, who had before defended it against the attacks of Sgurus. Gibbon, who seems to have given but slight attention to the latter events of Greece, is in error in stating that the Grand-duchy of Thebes and Athens was conferred upon Otho de la Roche, in the partition of the Empire. If so, how did they come to be seized by Boniface, whose personal friend he was, and in whose army he was then engaged? In fact, Alberic is the author of this mis-statement, who says, that he (Otho) seized them by a kind of miracle (quodam miraculo), and was made duke, (Hist. de C. P. sous les Emp. Fran. p. 25.); but it is contradicted by all the contemporary historians, and Meursius, who seems in these points much more accurate than Gibbon, makes no mention whatever of Otho de la Roche, nor does either Villehardouin or Nicetas at all support the assertion of the English historian. The probability is, that it was at a much later period that Otho became possessed of them; and the author of the Continuation of Villehardouin supposes it to have been under the dynasty of Guillaume de Champlite, the Prince of Achaia, of whom I shall speak hereafter. (fol. Paris, 1655.)

the second in person to the reduction of Napoli ^{A. D.}
di Romania. ^{1204.}

During this interval, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, nephew to the Mareschal and historian, was, on his return to Palestine, driven by a tempest on the coast of the Morea, and forced to take shelter in the harbour of Modon. Here the necessary repairs of his vessel detained him for the winter, during which he was hospitably entertained by Leo Chamaretas,* the chief-tain of Maina.

This man, who seems from his historians to have been possessed of honour as well as bravery, had been seized with the epidemic ambition of enlarging his dominions by seizing on the disputed territory of his neighbours, and, aware of the valour and influence of his guest, proposed to him an alliance in the reduction of the surrounding districts; Geoffrey readily closed with the tempting offer, and in a very brief space succeeded in acquiring an ample estate in the South of the Peloponnesus. Unfortunately, however, the death of Leo occurred ere he was yet firmly settled in his conquests; and his son and successor took instant advantage of his embarrassment to lay hold on all the castles and towns which had been the mutual property of Geoffrey and his father.†

* Nicet. in Baldouino. † Paolo Ramnusio, Villehardouin, &c.

A. D.
1204.

In this dilemma, Villehardouin bethought himself of the friendship which subsisted between his uncle and the Marquis of Montferrat, and immediately set out to seek the latter at his camp before Napoli, for the purpose of entreating his succour and assistance in the recovery of his estates. Boniface was, however, much more inclined to attach him to his own party, than to aid him in his aspirings after independence; and Geoffrey was forced to apply in another quarter, to Guillelme de Champlite, an officer and ally of the Marquis, and a personal friend of his own.

By his representations of the richness of the country, Guillelme was readily induced to comply with his request,* and set out without delay for Modon. Here they were rapidly followed by the soldiers of Michael, the despot of Durazzo; but having gained possession of the fortresses, they sallied out upon their pursuers, whom they routed with slaughter, and returned in triumph to Modon. They next directed their arms against Coron and Calamata, which they subdued without difficulty; and having overrun

* Gibbon gives Villehardouin infinite praise for his accurate knowledge of the Geography of Rhodosto, but seems to pass over his egregious blunder in talking at Napoli de Romania of having just arrived *from the Morea*, "Je viens d'une terre que multe est riche que on apelle la Morée!" Villehar. No. 174.

the Western coast, and reduced Patras,* they finally became possessed of almost the entire of the Morea, (Maina alone being excepted,) and Guillelme assumed its government under the title of the Prince of Achaia.†

A. D.
1204.A. D.
1206.

In the mean time, new disasters were hourly gathering around the throne of the Latin monarch; and the ill-arranged affairs of his empire were tending to that eruption in which the mortal career of Baldwin was destined to terminate. The nature of the new constitution was such as to render the prince the mere nominal head of the state, without enjoying the prerogatives or directing the powers of his throne; and the insolence of the feudal barons who shared his empire, tended to the rapid alienation of the allegiance as well as the affections of his subjects.

Some remnants of the Imperial family still remained, and had succeeded, in distant wings of the Empire, in establishing new principalities, under the title of Emperors of Nice, and Dukes of Trebizond. Round these were speedily congregated all those whom the oppression of the Latins had forced to leave their homes, or whom a spirit of patriotism impelled to seek some means of liberating Greece from

* Ducange Hist. de C. P.

† Nicetas, c. 9.

A. D.
1206. her new enslavers; and one common hatred of the strangers served to cement those feelings which, springing from necessity or choice, tended towards the same point,—the emancipation of their country.

These sentiments of disaffection had been sedulously cherished by the agents of Ioannizza, King of the Bulgarians, who finally succeeded in uniting the Greeks in a conspiracy against the Emperor, which was to be maintained by his alliance, and executed by the joint efforts of the malcontents and the barbarians. Their plans were conducted with equal nerve and secrecy; and Baldwin had scarcely dreamt of disaffection, when he was at once stunned with the intelligence of the insurrection having broken out in Thrace, and of the murder of the Latin inhabitants by the insurgents of the several towns.

A. D.
1205. With less prudence than promptitude, he at once led on a band of chivalrous knights to meet the enemy, but with numbers so inferior, that in the first encounter, his followers were totally routed, and he himself taken prisoner by the victorious Bulgarian. His after-fate is wrapped in mystery. His captors affirmed that he had expired in prison; whilst others asserted that, like a second Bellerophon, he had withstood the solicitations of the barbarian queen, whose exasperated pride had denounced him to

the king as an aggressor, and his body, after being mutilated of his hands and feet, was flung to be torn by dogs, under whose fangs the wretched monarch still survived for some days, till his vitals had been attacked and devoured by birds of prey.* Be it as it may, he never returned to claim his inheritance, and after a year of vain solitude, his brother Henry mounted his throne and assumed his sceptre.*

A. D.
1208.

Boniface, baffled in all his efforts to reduce the fortresses of the Morea, and having endured repeated defeats in his engagements with the garrison of Corinth,† was at length forced to abandon his attempts, and readily embraced the pretext of revenging the death of Baldwin, to raise the sieges of the two cities, and return towards his own dominions. Here he was gladly

* “ Si legge ne’ gli Annali Greci di Niceta Coniate e di un altro Acropolita, cioè, che Baldouino fatto prigionie nella rotto ricevuto sotto Adrianopoli, fu aliquanti messi tenuto prigionie in Ternobo, e che per ordine del crudelissimo Re Giovanisse, tagliateli con una scure i piede e le mani fu gettato il suo corpo in una certa valle perchè sbranato da i cani fosse cibo d’ucelli e de fiere; riserbandosi l’osso nudo della testa, fatto intorno intorno circondar d’oro e ornar tutto di pietre preciose e de gemme *per servirsi ne di tazza de bere*, conforme al crudel costume de Sciti, in perpetua memoria della vendetta e in testimonio di valor suo, come si questo fosse un illustre Trofeo per adornar la sua credenza ne’ banchetti Reale.”—P. Ramnusio, lib. v. p. 177.

† Ducange Hist. C. P.

A. D.
1206. welcomed by the new monarch, (who shortly after espoused his daughter,)* but in a gallant attack upon the Bulgarians, who had now taken possession of almost the entire of the empire, with the exception of the capital, he was slain in the mountains of Rhodope, and his head borne in triumph to the tent of Ioannizza.†

Though the services of Boniface, during the last years of his reign, had been chiefly confined to his own aggrandizement, the fame of his former exploits was still fresh in the minds of the Greeks, and those neighbouring states who were already in arms against the Latins; and the announcement of his death was the signal for a simultaneous attack of all those whom disaffection or ambition had armed against the Emperor.

A. D.
1207.

In particular, Theodore Lascaris, the head of the new kingdom of Nice, and a near relative of the late imperial family, embraced this opportunity to pursue with renewed vigour his victorious aggressions on the territory of the Latins, and to keep alive that spirit of resistant independence which was finally triumphant in restoring the expelled family to the throne of Constantine. In the North, the King of Bulgaria turned his arms against the dominions of the deceased Marquis, but perished in his attempt, being stabbed beneath the walls of

* Villehardouin.

† Ibid.

Thessalonica,* whilst Borylas, his successor, continued to follow up the course of bloodshed and extermination commenced by the deceased barbarian. Henry, after defeating him in several engagements, at length concluded with him a treaty of peace, which, though purchased by some concessions, was highly favourable to the establishment of his nascent power.

A.D.
1207.

Scarcely, however, was this dangerous enemy appeased when a new point of contention called for the presence and interference of Henry. Boniface had by his will left his possessions in Thessaly to Demetrius, his son by a second wife, who, at the time of his father's death, was a child of a few years old. His guardian, the Count de Blandras, had, however, been induced to favour the pretensions of an elder brother by a former marriage, (Guillaume, the young Marquis of Montferrat, and heir to his father's paternal estates,) to whom he had formed the project of surrendering the city of Thessalonica.† Henry, informed of this perfidy, immediately set out to protect the property and interests of the young king; and after considerable opposition, succeeded in gaining for him

* Gibbon, vol. xi. p. v. Hist. de C. P. p. 44, Ducange.

† Ducange, Hist. de Constantinople sous les Emp. Franc. pp. 46, 47, 51.

A.D.
1210.

possession of his capital, and, before his departure, crowned him monarch of Thessalonica, which, during his minority, was placed under the protectorate of his mother.

At the same time Michael, the despot of Epirus, having met with some reverses of fortune, and been deprived of Durazzo, which the Venetians had succeeded in recapturing, began to be alarmed at the rapid progress of Henry, and sent to propose to him terms of accommodation and peace, which were readily accepted by the Emperor.

A.D.
1219.

The affairs of this brief and unsettled period are too minute and unimportant to require detailed recapitulation ; and instead of following them with accuracy through the succeeding reigns, it will be sufficient to present the reader with a sketch of the state of Greece at the period of the accession of Robert, the fourth of the Latin rulers of the Eastern Empire.

1. The Morea and its dependencies had been quietly settled in the reign of Baldwin the First, under the designation of the Principality of Achaia, and the sceptre of its conqueror Guillelme de Champlite. Some insulated fortresses still maintained their independence ; but of these, Corinth and Argos were finally subdued by Guillaume de Villehardouin, Seneschal of Romania, and successor to Champ-

lite, who, with the assistance of Otho de la Roche,* had reduced Theodore, the Greek despot, who had held possession of them since the death of Leo Sgurus. The new prince was, however, far from enjoying the popularity of his predecessor; and he had effectually drawn down upon himself the resentment of the episcopacy, by conferring on his soldiers the lands of the church, and demolishing the cathedral of Patras, in order to raise a formidable fortress on its foundation.

2. The despotate of Epirus had, during the few previous years, become one of the most powerful and independent quarters of the Empire. Michael, its intrepid but treacherous founder, had observed his treaty with Henry† no longer than it seemed to suit his immediate purposes; and in a very short interval from its ratification, recommenced hostilities by a wanton and barbarous outrage on the person and followers of the Mareschal of Romania. His aggressions, however, were never visited with any very summary retribution by the Constantinopolitan court; and he at length completed the measure of his perfidy by inviting his brother Theodore from the dominions of Nice, to become the successor to his

* Ducange, p. 59. Hist. de C. P. sous des Emp. Fr.

† See p. 98.

A. D.
1219. possessions, which, by a previous contract, he had engaged to leave to Eustatio, brother of Henry, who had some time before espoused his daughter.

Theodore accordingly, on the subsequent assassination of Michael by one of his domestics, succeeded to the principality of Epirus, and commenced his dynasty by outstretched injuries inflicted on the territories of his neighbours; and Henry concluded his short and infelicitous reign whilst endeavouring to curb his progress, and repress his unprincipled ambition. Theodore soon augmented his dominions, by subduing the Bulgarian districts of Acris, Albanon, and Albanopolis;* and, after the death of Henry, the nominal reign of Peter of Courtney afforded rather an opportunity for the exercise of his rapacity, than any check to its excesses.

He seized the person of the unfortunate Emperor in the défiles of the Albanian mountains, whilst journeying to take possession of his newly acquired throne, and finally murdered him in prison. Early in his reign, the Venetians succeeded in recovering Durazzo, but his encreasing forces quickly enabled him to repair its loss, and shortly after the accession of Robert, he invaded and possessed himself of Thessalonica, and the inheritance of Demetrius, the son and successor of Boniface. It was in vain that

A. D.
1222.

* Acropolita, c. xiv.

the young Prince applied for succour to his European relatives, or besought the alliance of the Duke of Athens and the Prince of Achaia. Theodore, in one unfortunate encounter, overthrew his united defenders, gained possession of the Thessalian dominions, and was crowned Emperor in the cathedral of Thessalonica;* after which he transferred his Epirot despotate to Michael Angelus, son to Michael Angelus Nothus, who was confirmed in its possession by Vataces, Emperor of Nice.

A.D.
1219.

3. In the mean time, the islands of the Archipelago, and the more distant and scattered quarters of the Empire, were passing into the hands of various masters. These were chiefly the property of the Venetians, who had in their selection looked merely to their commercial advantages, without calculating on the difficulties of their tenure, arising from their insulated and ill-protected situations.

The hordes of Corsairs who now began to infest the seas of the Levant, found unrivalled security and shelter in the endless mazes of the Cyclades, and ample booty in the plunder of the towns, and the estates of the Latins who had attempted to take possession of the several islands. These excesses the Venetians soon found themselves unable to suppress; and in a meeting of the Senate it was resolved, that a

* A. D. 1226.

A. D. 1219. fleet should be equipped for the immediate recovery of the more important points, at the expense of the State, and that permission should likewise be granted to those of the Venetian nobles and others who could command the means, to seize upon those islands most exposed to the ravages of the pirates, and having gained possession, to retain them as personal estates, only subject to the laws and sovereignty of Venice.

A. D. 1212. Pursuant to this resolution, the armament of the Doge was first directed to the reduction of the Island of Corfu, which had been seized by a Genoese pirate, called Leo Veterani, during the disturbed period of the preceding years. Here, after driving out the Corsairs, they introduced an extensive colony, which included in its numbers ten of the most honourable families of the republic. Hence they successively steered for the harbours of Modon and Coron, whose secluded bays and prominent situation formed a desirable rendezvous for the freebooters; and thence, having again accomplished their object, they directed their forces to the occupation and colonization of Candia, which, since the period of its cession to Venice by Boniface, had remained in a state of almost incessant insurrection.*

On the other hand, the efforts of the nobles

* P. Ramnusio, p. 204.

were crowned with equal success; fleets were fitted out in every convenient port, and the energies of their leaders were called into full play, by the consciousness of fighting for individual gain, as well as national glory. Marco Dandolo and Giacomo Viario* obtained Gallipoli, and some other ports near the entrance to the Hellespont, which had been infested by the Corsairs of the Troad. Marino Dandolo took possession of Andros, and Andrea, and Gieremia Ghizi, of Tenos, Mycone, Scyros, and Scopolo. Philocales Navagier obtained Lesbos; and Pietro Giustiniano and Domenico Michele succeeded in occupying the fertile isle of Zea. Cephalonia and Zante became the property of a Signor Francesco, whose family is unknown, and who, according to Alberic, did homage for his conquests to the Princes of Achaia.

A. D.
1219.

But the most renowned were the Dukes of Naxos, whose name is still familiar to the seamen of the Archipelago. Marco Sanuto, the establisher of the Dukedom, was the person who conducted the negotiation for the exchange of Candia between the Venetians and Boniface, to the latter of whom he was intimately attached. Immediately on the publication of the Venetian edict in 1207, he prepared to take advantage of its provisions, and, with

A. D.
1207.

* For this list, see P. Ramnusio, p. 200, et seq.

A.D.
1210. a redoubtable force, he attacked the island of Naxos, which was then of considerable importance, well peopled, and containing upwards of one hundred towns and villages, besides numerous castles and fortresses, erected by the Greek emperors.* Landing at Potamides, he soon succeeded in reducing the chateau, after a siege of thirty-five days, and in a very short time rendered himself absolute master of the island. As the centre of his future dominions, he occupied himself for some time in fortifying and improving Naxos, and in gaining the esteem and affections of his new subjects. He built the castle, whose remains are still to be traced; ran out a mole for the accommodation of his galleys; and finally, warmly attached the Greeks to his cause, by rendering theirs the established religion of the island, whilst he proclaimed unconditional toleration to every other creed. Next, bethinking himself of farther conquest, he took possession, almost without a struggle, of Paros, Antiparos, Santorin, Anaphe, Cimolis or Argentiera, Milo, Siphanto, and Polycandro, in all which he established garrisons and governors.

* *Histoire Nouvelle des Anciens Ducs et autres Souverains de l'Archipel.* Anonymous. Paris, 12mo. 1698. (It is said to have been written by a Jesuit named Robert, and the dedication bears the initial R. * * *)

Now possessed of ample dominions, he prepared to sever his connexion with Venice; and having despatched ambassadors to Constantinople and Thessalonica, Henry and Boniface at once acknowledged his independence, the one through policy, and the other from motives of friendship. The Emperor erected Naxos into a Duchy, and gave Marco the title of Duke of the Archipelago, and the rank of Prince of the Empire; and Venice shortly after solicited his assistance in quelling an insurrection in their Candiot possessions, excited by the Count de Mailloc, the General of the Genoese. Sanuto complied with this request, but, with less prudence than perfidy, immediately entered into an intrigue with their enemies, by which he and the Genoese agreed to divide between them the territory he had been invited to defend. The plot was, however, unsuccessful, and Sanuto, after some dissimulation and submission, succeeded in making his peace with the republic. He subsequently assisted the Emperor in his war against Theodore, Prince of Epirus: on which occasion he was enabled to bring into the field 1000 foot and 500 well mounted horse. The affairs of his Duchy, up to the period of his death, continued to improve; and on his decease in 1220, at the age of sixty-seven, he left his dominions to Angelo, his only

A. D.
1219.

A. D. 1219. son, who accordingly succeeded to the dukedom.

Such was the position of the Eastern empire at the commencement of the thirteenth century: it may be divided into six departments. 1. The islands which were possessed by the chieftains I have named. 2. The Morea, which was in the hands of the Prince of Achaia. 3. Northern Greece, which, with the exception of Athens and Thebes, was almost exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Despot of Epirus, the Emperor of Thessalonica. 4. The empire of Nice, now governed by Vataces, the successor of Theodore Lascaris. 5. Trebizond, held by the Comnenian family; and, lastly, Constantinople, the solitary retreat, for it could not be called the kingdom, of the Emperor Robert.

The first years of the reign of this prince promised favourably for the affairs of the Empire; but in his case, the proverbial instability of fortune was amply heightened by the fickleness of those powers whom chance or diplomacy had induced to enter into alliance with him. Amongst the most important of these was Azen, who had succeeded to the Kingdom of Bulgaria, and married a niece of Robert, by which the latter hoped that a permanent peace would be established between the two territories; in lieu of which the uncertain monarch

continued, throughout the entire period of his reign, alternately vacillating between the friendship of the Greeks and the Latins, and embracing successively the faith of the Roman Catholic Church, and the errors of his national idolatry.

A. D.
1219.

The court of Nice, ever on the alert to take advantage of the weakness of the crown of Constantinople, had embraced the opportunity of the interval which occurred between the death of the Empress Yoland, and the accession of Robert, to continue its attempts upon the estates of the Latin Prince, and at the period of his coronation, the French Barons were absent in Asia, engaged in opposing the arms of Lascaris; whilst in the West, the Despot of Epirus continued those hostilities which had all along marked his career.

A treaty of peace with the former, and an alliance of marriage, were broken off by the death of Lascaris; and the wars of his successor, John Vataces, brought the resources and the arms of the Empire to an equal point of destitution and debasement, and reduced the bounds of the kingdom to the circuit of Constantinople. On one occasion alone, Robert was induced to give him battle, which issued in a disastrous defeat, the slaughter of his army, and the loss of the bravest of his Barons, whilst

A. D.
1219. the inhabitants of Thrace, aware of the inefficiency of the Emperor to protect them, and appalled at the prospect of falling into the hands of the barbarous Despot of Epirus, sent to offer their cities and submission to the triumphing Greek.*

An army was accordingly despatched by Vataces, which seized upon the district of Adrianople. But Theodore, equally prompt to take advantage of Robert's weakness, did not permit them long to retain the conquest: of which he demanded the surrender with a threatening force, which rendered refusal on the part of the General of Vataces impossible; and without the form of a victory, the richest provinces of Thrace were added to the territory of Epirus. I have already adverted to his invasion and tenure of Thessalonica, which took place about this period,† and completed the series of rapine which rendered his family the most powerful rulers of the disjointed Empire.

A. D.
1228. The disgraceful reign of the weak and vicious monarch (Robert) was, however, speedily drawing to a close; and no circumstance can give a better idea of the weakness of the Empire at the moment of his decease, than the fact that the Barons, aware of their inability to

* Ducange, *Hist. de C. P.* l. lii. p. 81.

† A. D. 1226.

support the throne of his infant successor, Baldwin II. were on the point of applying for protection to their hostile neighbours the Bulgarians! when an opposite party defeated the measure, and placed John of Brienne on the throne, as the guardian, or rather the joint emperor with the young Prince. Their reign was marked by few striking characteristics beyond the usual succession of submissions and defeat; and John, after a reign of nine years, expired at Constantinople, leaving his helpless colleague in sole possession of a kingdom attenuated by poverty, and festering with discontent.

During his reign, (A. D. 1230,) Theodore, already enjoying the dominions of Thessalonica, as well as those of Epirus, aspired at a still farther enlargement of his possessions, by the invasion of Bulgaria. But the sword of Azen at once burst the bubble of his fortunes. He inflicted a total rout upon his forces, seized the estates which he had lately acquired in Thrace, took possession of Adrianople and Dimotica, and penetrating into Epirus, placed Bulgarian governors in his principal fortresses, and finally, after detaining him for some time in prison, put an effectual preventive to his farther intrigues, by depriving him of his eyes. Manuel, his brother, escaped to the kingdom of Thessalonica, of which he assumed the government,

A. D.
1238.

A. D.
1228. under the title of Despot; and strengthened his possession by a submission to the Pope, as well temporal as spiritual, and an alliance with the Prince of Achaia and the court of Zante.*

The Bulgarians and Greeks now entered into a league against the Emperors, and some important acquisitions led them on to the siege of Constantinople: the naval superiority of the Latins continued, however, to give them the advantage, and they were successful in repulsing the enemy, who retired to gather strength for a fresh and more formidable attack. No resources now remained, but an application for succour to the Pope, and the other powers of Europe; and the young Baldwin was accordingly despatched upon this mendicant expedition.

The state of the nation and its resources at this moment presents one of the most anomalous pictures in the history of the Lower Empire; since, according to Ducange, it was reduced to such a grade of abject poverty, as absolutely to solicit, through *the Pope*, pecuniary donations *from the states of the Morea and Greece*, for the support of the Patriarch of Constantinople,† who had expended his private property in supplying the necessities of the State.

* Ducange, Hist. C. P. p. 93. lib. iii.

† “ Ces frequentes secours affoiblirent merveilleusement

The success of Baldwin's mission to the monarchs of Christendom was any thing but flattering; and ere he had collected a sufficiency of either money or forces, he was recalled to Constantinople by the death of his colleague.* He returned but to dishonour and defeat: the contributions of his Christian allies were squandered in fruitless expeditions, or converted to the private purposes of the Emperor; nor did they for one hour retard the advancement of his enemies, or the overthrow of his dominion.

A. D.
1228.

It was in vain that he formed dishonourable alliance with the Turks and Comans, gave his niece in marriage to the Sultan of the one, and conformed to the barbarous rites of the other;† the constitution of his kingdom was reduced to that point of feebleness, that it could not support the operation of even those remedies which were resorted to for its restoration; and to close the scene, it fell into the hands of the Greeks, with-

les François, qui se virent renfermez presque dans la seule ville de Constantinople, tellement épuisée d'argent et de toutes commodités, que le Patriarche fut obligé d'avoir recours au Pape pour sa subsistence particulière, *ayant employé le peu qu'il avoit dans les urgentes nécessités de cet état* : en sorte que le Pape écrivit au Prince d'Achaïe et aux Evesques de la Morée pour les prier de contribuer à son entretenement."—Ducange, l. v. c. xxiii.

* A. D. 1237.

† Gibbon.

A. D. 1228. out the struggle of a battle or the striking of a single blow.

The advancement of the empire of Nice, under Vataces, soon rendered it an over-match for the power of Baldwin: its success had in some measure been attributed to its alliance with the Bulgarians; but when the fickle Azen forsook his friendship, and re-attached himself to the Latins, Vataces wisely formed a truce with the Emperor for a period of two years, which he occupied in fortunate attacks upon his less powerful enemies, and in extending his territory by the addition of that of his surrounding and unresisting neighbours. Amongst the rest, he invaded the dominions of John, son of Theodore the Emperor of Thessalonica,* whom, after a thorough defeat, he forced to resign the title of Emperor, and content himself with that of Despot, while he did homage for his throne and dominions to the court of Nice.†

The death of Vataces, and the want of energy in Theodore his successor, considerably retarded the progress of the Greeks; but their ambition was soon to be fully gratified, by the daring ex-

* John was placed on the throne by Theodore, who, on being liberated by the Bulgarians, deposed the usurper Manuel, and conferred the empire on his son, retaining for himself the title of Despot.

† A. D. 1242.

ploits and energetic though barbarous measures of Michael Palæologus, who was appointed Regent during the minority of John. One of his first acts was the reduction of the territory of Epirus, which he invaded with a formidable army. It was in vain that Michael the Despot was supported by the arms of his relatives by marriage, the King of Sicily and the Prince of Achaia;* the forces of Palæologus were irresistible, and in one battle he succeeded in cutting to pieces the Sicilians, imprisoning the Achaian Prince, destroying the power of the independent Despot, and establishing his own sway from the Turkish borders to the Adriatic Gulf. Thus virtually master of Greece, he began to apply himself seriously to the means of rendering himself master of Constantinople, which his knowledge of the imbecility and straits of the Emperor taught him to consider an easy conquest. Baldwin now sat upon a forlorn and comfortless throne, without troops, dominion, or a treasury, forced to coin the lead which covered the churches and palaces of the capital to pay the soldiers of his guard,† and to

A. D.
1242.

* Ducange, lib. v. c. 16.

† “ L'Empereur Baudouin estoit dans la place, où il n'auoit ny troupes ny argent, et étoit tellement obéré que pour s'aquitter de ses dettes, &c. il fut obligé de lever le plomb des couvertures des Eglises et des Palais de Constantinople

A. D. 1342. demolish the houses of the city in order to convert their timber into firewood.* The army of Michael was not, however, sufficiently powerful to attempt the siege of Constantinople; and his hopes of its possession were rather founded on the expectation of inducing private treachery than on the chance of open warfare.

His first attempts failed of success, but in the following spring his hopes were crowned with full enjoyment: his favourite general Alexius Strategopoulos, whom he had invested with the title of Cæsar, having passed into Thrace, was joined by a body of hardy peasants who inhabited the district between the Black Sea and the Propontis, and successfully planned an attack upon the city whilst a body of its bravest troops were absent at the reduction of Daphnusiun,† a town on the coast of the Euxine at the distance of forty leagues from the capital.

The timid citizens would, in the first moments of trepidation, have been inclined to resistance; but when the Greek general had

pour faire de Perpres et de la monnaie." Ducange, lib. v. c. 19.

* "*Quæ res ad tantam illos egestatem redegit, ut ob lignorum inopiam plurimas et pulcherrimas urbis ædes destruerent ut necessariis ignibus materia suppeteretur.*"—Nic. Gregoras, lib. iv. c. 1.

† Gregoras, lib. iv. c. 3.

fairly entered within the Golden gate, when the thoughts of a native sovereign again passed across the minds of those who still retained a fond recollection of their faded greatness, and when they compared the imbecility of Baldwin with the overweening force of Alexius, they unanimously flocked to the standard of the conqueror, led him with acclamations through the city, and raised in every quarter the cry of "Long live the Emperors John and Michael!" and long live the glory of the Greeks! *

A. D.
1242.

A. D.
1261.

Baldwin, in the seclusion of his miserable retreat, was aroused by the æclamations of his subjects, and was quickly informed of their object; but a long familiarity with misfortune had quenched those feelings which might, under such circumstances, have aroused him to exasperation or energy. He saw too plainly that his kingdom was for ever lost; from the walls of the city he descried the distant sails of his returning fleet; he made no opposition to the progress of his conqueror, but, calmly embarking with his family on board one of the galleys of Venice, he turned his back upon the walls of Byzantium, and bade a long farewell to the crimes and the cares of royalty.

* Ducange, l. v. c. 25.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Restoration of the Palæologi to the Capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II.—A.D. 1261—1453.

A. D. 1261—1453. MICHAEL was at Smyrna when the news of the conquest of Constantinople was brought to him by an unknown and unauthorised stranger;* but when it was almost instantly confirmed by the official messengers of Alexius, he lost no time in hurrying on to take possession of the city; and in twenty days from the departure of Baldwin, the restored Emperor was seated on the throne of Constantine.

A. D. 1247. Greece, in the mean time, had been undergoing similar fluctuations with the remainder of the Empire. Already, in A. D. 1247, John Vataces had attacked the possessions of the Franks in the islands of the Levant, and possessed himself of Lesbos, Mitylene, Scio, Samos, Icaria, and Cos; he had even attempted

* Gibbon.

the reduction of Candia,* and succeeded in the capture of some important fortresses, but was finally repulsed by the Venetians.

A. D.
1361.

The despots of Thessaly and Epirus now held their estates in fief from the Emperor Michael; and he, two years after the recovery of Constantinople, released the Prince of Achaia from prison, where he had been confined since the defeat of Michael of Epirus, on the terms of his purchasing his liberty by the surrender of Napoli di Malvasia, Maina, and Leuctra, in the government of which, Michael immediately installed his brother Constantine.† Several independent principalities still remained, such as that of Athens, held by the descendants of Otho de la Roche, and that of Napoli di Romania, which still remained in the family of Leo Sgurus; but with these, and a few trifling exceptions, Greece may be said to have been again firmly united to the Greek empire.

No epoch of the history of Greece is so rife with varied incident, as that which intervenes between the return of the family of the Palæologi to the throne, and their final overthrow by Mahomet the Second; but my limits are by

* Ducange, lib. iv. c. 34.

† Gibbon.—Nic. Gregoras, lib. iii. c. 1.—Pachymer, lib. i. c. 31.

A. D. 1261. far too confined, and the events themselves too unimportant, to admit of a minute recapitulation of the various petty dynasties which alternately swayed the fortunes of the Greeks. In order, however, to give as brief and faithful a picture of the grand features of this era as my bounds will permit, it will be only necessary to recount, as concisely as possible, the progress and exploits of the Turks during this important interval.

From the period of the first Crusade down to the decline of the Mogul invaders of the East, in the commencement of the fourteenth century, the advancement of the Turks had been successfully retarded by the arms of the one, and the terror inspired by the conquests of the others. At length, however, when the power of the successors of Zinghis had ceased to inspire respect in the breasts of their neighbours, Othman, the son of Ortogrul, found himself freed from the apprehension of a domestic rival or a foreign superior, and seated on the verge of the Christian territory, which his ambition and his Koran alike marked out as an object worthy of the conquest of the faithful: On the 27th July, A. D. 1299, he crossed the frontier of the Grecian empire, and invaded the territory of Nicomedia; and before the close of his

reign, his kingdom was erected in the interior of Bithynia; and Prusa, at the foot of the Mysian Olympus, became the capital of his dominions.* A.D.
1299.

From the exploits, and the era of Othman, may be justly dated the establishment of the Ottoman empire; and the energy of his son and successor, Orchan, added to his domains almost the entire of Asia Minor, whilst the Greek Emperors retained but a few important points of their former gigantic possessions. At the same time, he invaded the territory of Greece, and was the first to plant the standard of Mahomet before the walls of Athens.† The dissensions of the elder and younger Andronicus, and the mistaken policy of Cantacuzene, first led to the introduction of the Turks into Europe; and the subsequent marriage of Orchan with a Grecian princess was acceded to by the By- A.D.
1256.

A.D.
1326—
1360.

* Gibbon, vol. xi. cap. 64.—Muller, vol. ii. book xvii. sec. 44.

† “ Sans parler de la Morée, où ses troupes firent descente par plusieurs endroits, et qu’ils desolèrent presque toute entière, les barbares passèrent à Negroponte, où ils exercèrent des cruautés inouïes, brûlans et exterminans tout; ils pénétrèrent de-là dans l’Attique, portèrent le feu jusqu’aux portes d’Athènes, réduisirent en cendre les faubourgs de cette belle ville, et ensuite se repandirent dans la Macedoine, qu’ils ravagèrent d’un bout à l’autre.”—Histoire des Ducs de l’Archipel, &c. liv. ii.

A.D.
1326—
1360 zantine court, as a faint bond of peace between a dreaded conqueror and a crouching state.

A.D.
1360. The expectation of tranquillity was, however, fatally blasted; and, in the last quarrel of Cantacuzene with his pupil, the disastrous ambition of the former opened the path of Solyman, the son of Orchan, across the Hellespont, and laid the northern provinces of the kingdom open to the temporary ravages of the barbarians, thus inflicting a lasting and irremediable injury on the liberties of Christendom.

A.D.
1360—
1389. The exploits of Solyman, however, led to no other permanent results than the example which they left to the ambition of Amurath I. who, amongst his earliest achievements, led his victorious army across the Hellespont, ravaged the extended district from Mount Hæmus to the Straits, and taking possession of Adrianople, made it the first seat of his royalty, and the first shrine of Mahomedanism in Europe.*

His conquests had now drawn a circle round the enfeebled dominions of the Emperor; and the submission of John Palæologus, together with his political views in more distant quarters, alone prevented Amurath from contract-

* Thornton, vol. i. p. lvii.

ing the circumference to the centre, and annihilating the empire of the East, by seating himself on the throne of Byzantium. For the present, he turned his back upon the city, and pursued his course towards the wilds of Bulgaria and Servia; and having subdued the hardy tribes between the Danube and the Adriatic, he formed the flower of his new subjects into that warlike band, who have since retained their original title of Janissaries,* and continued down to their disbandment, in 1826, the bulwark of the Ottoman armies.

Amurath was succeeded by his son Bajazet, A. D. 1360—1389. a conqueror who, from the rapidity of his expeditions, and the impetuosity of his arms, received the surname of “Ilderim,” or “The Lightning.” During a short but glorious reign, he spread the terror of his name from the Euphrates to the Danube, from Thrace to Bithynia, and “invaded, with impartial ambition,” the territory of the Christians of Europe, and the Asiatic Mahomedans. He secured the dominions of his predecessors by the establishment of regular forms of military servitude; and pursued, into the centre of Greece, that course of subjection which Amurath had com-

* Jengi-cheri, i. e. new soldiers, Gibbon.—The establishment of the Spahis and Janissaries has been sometimes attributed to Orchan, the father of Amurath.

A. D. 1389—
1403. menced on the northern provinces. Moldavia,* Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, fell successively before his attacks; and the gates of Thermopylæ were again surrendered, by treachery, to the Ottoman Sultan, as they had before been to the Gothic invader.

The "Roman world" was now contracted almost to the suburbs of Constantinople. The Emperor John Palæologus still retained a nominal influence in the Morea; but with that slight exception, the bounds of his dominions lay within a corner of Thrace, between the Black Sea and the Propontis, about fifty miles in length, and thirty in breadth.† Bajazet so far despised the imbecility of the nominal monarch, as to deny him even the honour of a *contest* in the seizure of his kingdom, and contented himself with sending him a haughty message, "that he was in future to consider himself the vassal of the Ottomans, to pay a yearly tribute to the Sultan, and instantly send forward his son, the Prince Manuel, to attend

* Knolles, Hist. of the Turks.—Wilkinson's Moldavia, &c. p. 11.

† "Les Empereurs de Constantinople n'avaient pour armes que des titres, pour troupes que des factions et des cabales, pour généraux que des ordonnateurs de processions, pour forteresses que de nombreux monastères."—Rizo, Hist. de la Grèce Mod. p. 21.

at the court of the victorious Mahomedan." A. D.
1392.
No second course was left him, and the unhappy sovereign complied; but a very brief time put a period to his submission and his life; and Manuel, on the first news of his decease, escaped from the palace of Bajazet, and hastened to seize upon his throne. The Sultan, though incensed at his elopement, continued for some time to pursue the career of his conquests, and left the government of Byzantium to be contested between Manuel and his eldest brother, John Prince of Selyvria. At length, however, by the advice of his vizier, he resolved to attack the city, and, by appropriating it to himself, put at rest for ever the disputes of the rival claimants. He accordingly crossed from Bithynia to Thrace, and having laid waste the entire territory to the walls of the capital, he commenced the siege of Constantinople. Manuel, however, had claimed and received the assistance of the princes of Christendom, and the arms of Bajazet received a powerful check from the troops of Sigismund of Hungary, and John Duke of Nevers. He now entered into a treaty with the Prince of Selyvria, by which they covenanted, that their united forces should attempt the capture of the city; and that, if successful, John was to be installed in the Princedom of the Morea, and the Turks were

A. D.
1392. to take thorough possession of Constantinople.*

This proposal rent the city into two contending factions; and Manuel, to avert the coming bloodshed, abdicated his throne, and retired to seek protection or succour from the Venetians, whilst John, forgetful of his oath to the Ottomans, succeeded to his kingdom, and prepared to defend Constantinople from the attempts of Bajazet. Now armed with "double hate," the enraged barbarian returned to the assault, and again the horrors of war and of famine hung above the unfortunate citizens: the moment of surrender was fast approaching, the last faint hope of successful resistance was expiring, when, like a thunder-burst, the victorious troops of Timour the Tartar spread far and wide over the dominions of Bajazet, and forced him to abandon the siege and retire to the protection of his Asiatic possessions.

This event retarded, for about fifty years, the downfall of Constantinople. Bajazet met the Tartar in the field of Angora, (A. D. 1402,) and, after having already lost the richest half of his dominions, now saw his bravest troops de-

* By a previous treaty with Manuel, Bajazet had obtained permission to establish a cadhi, and build a royal mosque in the capital of the Eastern Church, for the civil and religious convenience of those of his subjects who had already fixed their residence in Constantinople.—See Gibbon, vol. ii. c. 54.

stroyed, and was himself led into captivity by the victor. Manuel, immediately on the news of his overthrow, hastened to return to his dominions, and to reclaim his throne: John was again deprived of his birthright, and sent into banishment to the island of Lesbos. The sons of Bajazet, who still survived in those petty dynasties which had escaped the notice of Timour, sent to court his friendship and crouch to his rising power; whilst Manuel continued to keep up an amicable negotiation with the Pope, under the specious pretext of a meditated reunion of the Eastern and Western churches. By means of this artful policy, by a false display of unreal power to his enemies, and a specious farce of fictitious amity to his influential friends, the Emperor thus continued for upwards of thirty years to prolong the tranquillity of his reign, whilst he neglected to take any steps to insure its permanence.

But at length the former order of things began to return; the successors of Timour neglected to protect the dominions acquired by the sword of their founder, and by degrees the fragments which composed the kingdom of the Tartar chief returned to the possession of their former lords. In this revolution, the Greeks soon perceived that the Turkish power had been merely dispersed, but not annihilated;

A. D.
1392.

A. D.
1423. whilst they embraced the death of Timour as the favourable moment to re-assemble their scattered forces, they replaced their monarchy on its former basis, and under the conduct of Mahomet the First were again victorious both in Europe and Asia.*

Manuel expired in the seventy-eighth year of his age, (A.D. 1425,) leaving his kingdom to John his eldest son, the principality of Thessalonica to Andronicus his second, whilst his remaining four were portioned off with the districts of Selyvria and the Morea, which latter he had taken the precaution to fortify, by restoring the wall which protected the narrow Isthmus of Corinth.

A. D.
1421.—
1451. The reign of Amurath the Second is the most important and the most renowned of all the Turkish Sultans; but its details are by far too extended to be minutely recounted. He swayed the sceptre of Othman with the genius of a monarch, and twice laid down the purple with the moderation of a philosopher;† he strengthened whilst he extended the limits of his domain; he restored the Janissaries to their former fame, and, besides recovering the possessions of the Turks in Greece, which had been partially recaptured by the Emperor on the

* Gibbon's Outlines, p. 41.

† Gibbon's Outlines. Muller, vol. ii. p. 371.

fall of Bajazet, he added Thessalonica to their former victories, and subdued and pillaged the leading cities of Macedonia, Ætolia, Boeotia, and Phocis. A. D.
1438.

Mingling with the hardihood of war the polish of domestic life, he seemed more fitted for the delights of retirement, than the cares of royalty; but his sword was ever ready to spring from its scabbard at the spur of ambition, or the stimulus of vengeance. Greece and Rome alike trembled for the result of his movements; and John, in the trepidation of his weakness, consummated the long-talked-of union of the Eastern and Western churches at the council of Florence, (A. D. 1438,) as a bond by which to claim the kindness and protection of the Franks.

The terrors of Rome, too, spurred her on to an act of treachery, which terminated fatally for its agents, whilst it added one of the brightest gems to the glory of Amurath. He had entered into a treaty of peace for ten years with the sovereigns of Hungary, which had long been observed with mutual fidelity, till the Cardinal Julian Cesarini, the Legate of the Pope Eugene IV, released the Hungarians from their oath, and incited them, as a portion of a general plan for an extended attack upon the power of the Ottomans, to invade the dominions of the

A. D. 1438: Sultan, whilst he was enjoying the pleasures of retirement in the seclusion of Magnesia (*ad Sipylum*). Vladislaf, the Hungarian monarch, accompanied by the celebrated John Hunniades, advanced to the shores of the Black Sea; whilst Amurath, roused like a lion from his slumbers, flew at once to arms, and vindicated the glory of the Ottomans.*

A. D. 1444. The hostile armies met in the plains of Varna, and the contest, embarked in with treachery, was conducted without talent, and terminated in discomfiture. Victory, for a moment, hung above the banners of Vladislaf, till, the elation of momentary success overcoming the suggestions of discretion, the youthful monarch rode with impetuous bravery against a charge of Janissaries, fell pierced by the wounds of a thousand javelins, and his bleeding head raised on a crimsoned spear was shown in mockery to his advancing soldiers. Ten thousand Christians fell in the disastrous field of Varna; and the generous victor himself confessed, such was the Turkish loss, that a second victory would be purchased by the ruin of his forces.† He raised on the spot where the youthful king was slain, a column, whose modest legend recorded not the glory of the con-

* Müller.

† Hist. Hungary. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxii. p. 147.

quest, but the virtues and the valour of the Hungarian boy. A. D.
1444.

The latter years of Amurath were occupied chiefly in his wars with the Albanians, and his fruitless and reiterated attempts to reduce the fortresses held by the immortal Scanderbeg, or George Castriottis ;* whose exploits are still the theme of Albanian song, and whose name has far eclipsed, in modern estimation, the deeds of Alexander and of Pyrrhus. His biographers have not scrupled to affirm, that amidst all his successes, the death of Amurath was in no slight degree accelerated by the chagrin arising from the defeat of his armies by this mountain chief : but in A. D. 1451, the bravest of the Sultans was gathered to his fathers, and his son, Mahomet the Second, ascended the throne of Adrianople.

On the death of John Palæologus, the number of his family was reduced to his three brothers, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas ; the former, with the approval of the army and the citizens, succeeded to the crown, whilst the others divided between them those possessions in the Morea which were attached to the Em- A. D.
1451.

* For particulars of the exploits of Scanderbeg, see Marinus Barletius, Chalcocondyles, Spondanus, &c. And amongst the moderns, Knolles, and Gibbon, vol. xii. p. 168.

A. D. 1451. pire. This was the last settlement of the regal succession which was ever made. Constantinople had been now gradually abandoned by all her former friends; her good fortune had deserted her; her territory was no more; and this, the last remnant of her imperial family, was seated on her desolated throne, as the remaining mariners of some lordly wreck cling to a floating spar which has survived the storm, and await, not the rising dawn of hope, but the darkening advent of destruction.

The grand object of Mahomet's solicitude from the moment of his accession, was the capture of Constantinople. Neither Prusa nor Adrianople was a fit capital for the dominions he had acquired, and the city of the Cæsars alone appeared worthy his dominion or his ambition. Possessed of equal policy and valour, he spent the first months of his reign in the reduction of Ibrahim of Caramania, whilst a simulation of amity secured him repose from any attempted hostilities of the Greeks. At length, however, his plans were matured, his views upon Asia had been amply successful, and he turned towards Europe as containing the last gem which he coveted.

His artifice was not tardy in producing sufficient causes for a rupture between him and Constantine; and after the preliminary transmission

of insulting embassies, he proceeded to remind the forlorn Emperor, that the dominions of Constantinople were enclosed within the walls of the capital, and that he was about to erect a fortress on the banks of the Bosphorus as a protection to the adjoining territory, which, by right of conquest, was the property of the Ottomans.

A. D.
1451.

It was in vain that the Emperor attempted to reason with one whose ambition knew no terms of justice, and whose sword was adequate to enforce what his will might dictate: in vain he applied for protection to the Courts of Europe—they could not refuse him succour; but the sluggish canvass was not spread upon the yards of their galleys, nor had one vessel moved from the harbours of Genoa or Venice; till the unfortunate city was no more. The threatened districts were occupied by the armies of the Sultan, and the ponderous fortress of “the Castle of Europe” arose upon the shore of the Bosphorus.

Mahomet was now in full possession of the passage of the Straits, so as to intercept the forces of foreign allies, and his own soldiery occupied the whole country up to the walls of the city. He was well aware of the cold indifference towards the fate of Constantine manifested by the sovereigns of Europe; and wearied

A. D.
1451. with the useless precaution of proffered alliance, he at once flung off disguise and restraint, boldly proclaimed his object, demanded the surrender of Constantinople, and on the firm refusal of the Emperor led his armies to the assault.

It was not, however, without a struggle that he gained possession: the fortifications were still sufficiently strong to oppose a redoubtable barrier to his attacks, and upwards of fifty days were spent in fruitless efforts for their reduction.* At last, one resistless and gigantic effort closed the scene: Mahomet was alarmed by the tidings of an expedition of the Hungarians to the relief of the city, and his mutinous soldiery were clamorous to raise the siege. He resolved on one grand and general assault, and pointing to the domes of the beleaguered town, he promised the plunder to his army, and reserved for himself but the walls of the spoliated houses. Ambition and avarice alike conspired to incite the general and the soldiers; a fleet of eighty galleys was by an unparalleled exploit transported over-land to occupy the haven; and

* " Les immenses préparatifs de Mahomet et la durée du siège attestent, malgré les historiens, que s'il y eut dans Constantinople une partie des habitans qui prononçaient contre les Azymites d'anathèmes au milieu de danger, il y en eut aussi un très grand nombre qui se battirent avec courage et moururent en citoyens."—Rizo, p. 24.

the united force of catapults, and the newly invented agent of extermination, gunpowder, were equally employed to batter the devoted walls. A. D.
1451.

The morning of the 29th of May, 1453, was the moment which Mahomet, from a consultation of the stars, resolved upon for the final and fatal attack. A. D.
1453. As day slowly dawned, the troops of the besiegers were descried from the walls, drawn up in fierce array along the fosse, and the fourscore galleys armed with assailants awaited in the marshalled harbour the signal to commence the assault. The deepest silence reigned from line to line; no word was uttered by the expecting foe, who, in all the stillness of death, grasped steadily the sheathed sword: at length the appointed moment passed, and three hundred thousand scymetars flashed in the rising sun: no gun was fired, no trumpet blown, but with one simultaneous and concerted step, the mighty armament commenced the onset.

In vain the little band within, worn out with watching, were armed with patriotism, and nerved by despair;—the assailants were one hundred times their number. The unhappy monarch saw his walls blown into clouds of dust by the ponderous engines of the enemy; he saw the gory Janissary mount above the fatal breach, and the stream of his followers pour like a tor-

A. D.
1453. rent through his captured streets: hope he had long abandoned, but duty had inspired him with valour; he had now made the last convulsive effort to repel the foe; his crown was gone—he flung aside the useless purple—rushed madly amidst the hottest of the fray, and an obscure and unknown hand put a period to the life and misfortunes of the last Constantine.

The ambition of the Sultan was now complete. When his soldiery were wearied with plunder and with rapine, he rode in triumph through the prostrate city: 60,000 of the miserable inhabitants had been consigned to slavery or the sword, and the ornaments of its stateliest mansions had been torn from their places by the hands of his barbarous followers. He entered beneath the dome of the Cathedral of St. Sophia, and ordered the imaum to proclaim the glory of the Prophet from that altar which had lately glowed with the incense of the Lord; and as he walked through the palace of the Cæsars, and gazed upon its desolated walls, he exclaimed in the words of the Persian, “The spider hath woven her web in the palaces of Princes, and the owl hath sung her watch-song on the tower of Efrasyab.”*

* Efrasyab is the palace of the Persian monarchs, often mentioned in the poetry of the East. See Cantemir for the original; and for a very poetical explanation of it, Thornton’s Turkey, vol. i. p. 22.

CHAPTER V.

From the Capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II. to the conclusion of the first war between Venice and the Turks. A. D. 1453—1478.

SOME scattered fragments of the Greek Empire still remained, but of these Mahomet obtained full possession long before the period of his decease. The little empire of Trebisonde, which, after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, had been founded on the shore of the Black Sea by a branch of the Comnenian family, was one of the first objects of his cupidity. The Sultan led a superior force beneath its walls in the progress of his Anatolian conquests, and, pointing to his troops, called on its sovereign to surrender. The feeble David instantly obeyed, and was by stipulation conveyed with his family to Romania, where in a few months a pretext was found for his assassina-

A. D.
1453.

A. D.
1453. tion, and the murder of him and his entire family concluded the race of the Comneni.*

Another object was the reduction of the Morea. The principality of Achaia had suffered its greatest blow from the dismemberment which the Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin had been forced to make, in order to purchase his liberty from the Emperor Michael Palæologus;† who, almost immediately after, had found a pretext to nearly double the portion assigned to him, in the attempts of the Prince to recover that which he had been compelled to surrender.

The principality, or at least a nominal right to the greater portion of it, had shortly after been conferred on the King of Sicily by the fugitive Emperor Baldwin,‡ in consideration of those succours, which, in conjunction with the other princes of Europe, he was to lend him in order to recover Constantinople from the Greeks. The subsequent disorders of Sicily, and the

* Gibbon.

† See p. 113.

‡ “ En considération de ce secours Baudouin ceda au Roy Charles le Seigneurie directe de la Principauté d’Achaie, et de la Morée, qui appartenoit à Guillaume de Villehardouin, la demembrant à cet effet de l’empire, en sorte que le Prince et ses successeurs ne reconnoitroient à l’avenir autres seigneurs que les Roys de Sicile.”—Ducange, lib. v. No. xlix.

death of Baldwin, prevented the accomplishment of the treaty on the part of Charles, but the principality still remained in his family, whilst the heirs of Guillaume did homage for the Morea to the House of Sicily, and a marriage between the daughter of the Prince and Philip, son to Charles, cemented the alliance and ensured the continuance of the succession.*

A. D.
1453.

Down to the time of Robert Prince of Tarentum and Achaia,† it remained in the hands of the descendants of Guillaume; but he having assigned it amongst other possessions to his wife Marie de Bourbon, it was by her transmitted, at her death, to Louis Duke of Bourbon, by whom it was broken up into minor districts, and disposed of to various chieftains, amongst whom Renier de Acciajuoli obtained the seigniory of Corinth, rather however during the life-time of Mary, than by an act of the Duke.

In the mean time the right of possession was disputed by the Dukes of Savoy, from an intermarriage with the family of Villehardouin; and Marie de Bretagne, widow of Jacques of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont, took upon herself

* A. D. 1269. Ducange, lib. v. No. liii.

† A. D. 1346.

A.D. to dispose of the sovereignty to John Ferdinand
1453. d'Heredia, Grand-master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who united with the Venetians in an expedition to repel those destructive inroads which the Turks were already making in the Morea. Their first attempt was the reduction of Patras, which had been assaulted and occupied by the Moslems; and having succeeded in their attack, they were proceeding to the relief of Corinth, when an ambuscade of the Turks completely overthrew their forces, and forced them to purchase their lives by the surrender of Patras.

In the succeeding years the Piedmontese endeavoured, without success, to recover their alleged share of the peninsula from the various petty despots who possessed it; but their attempts were never conducted with energy, nor crowned with good fortune, and the whole remained in the same state of disjointed weakness, till swallowed up in the universal conquest of the Morea by the Ottomans. Some minor dynasties, such as those of the Melissenian family and the Centerions, had sprung up in Messenia and other points; but their exploits were neither interesting nor important.

Amongst others, Corinth, and a number of petty districts, were inherited by Theodore,

brother to Manuel II. and uncle to the last Constantine; who had married a daughter of Renier Acciajuoli, whom I have before mentioned. During the early ravages of the Turks in the Morea, he became alarmed for the safety of his estates; and, doubtful of being enabled to defend them against Bajazet, he disposed of Argos to the Venetians, and Corinth and Sparta, or Maina, to Philibert de Naillac, Prior of Aquitaine, Grand-master of the Knights of Rhodes. In consequence of this arrangement, Raymond de Leytoure, Prior of Toulouse, and Elie du Fossé, Commander of St. Maixance, took possession of the country of Lycurgus, in the name of the Order. The treaty was, however, subsequently annulled, in consequence of the discontent of the Greeks, and the overthrow of Bajazet at Ancyra; and the Knights having resigned their title, and received back the purchase-money, the districts again returned into the hands of Theodore.* To him succeeded a second Theodore, son to the Emperor Manuel, who finally left it to Constantine Palæologus, by whom, on his accession to the throne, the seigniory of the Morea

A. D.
1453.

* Chateaubriand, vol. i. Introd. p. xii. from Hist. des Chev. de Malt. See also De la Guilletière, Lacedemoine Anc. et Nouv.

A.D.
1453. was conferred on his brothers Demetrius and Thomas, of whom the one established himself at Misitra, and the other at Corinth.

On the news of the overthrow of Constantinople, these two princes readily perceived that their independence was virtually extinct, and accordingly sent to the conqueror to announce their submission. The Sultan received their embassy with simulated friendship, and, whilst he named their annual tribute, sent an army of his followers into the Morea, to protect them from the ravages of the Albanians, who had made descents upon several districts, and carried off the cattle and spoil, after murdering the inhabitants.

For a few years they remained the patient vassals of the Turks; but at length, on the news of the confederation of the European sovereigns to recapture Constantinople, they threw off their allegiance, and withheld their wonted tribute.* Mahomet, with his usual promptness, instantly made a descent upon the Morea, and with a puissant force reduced the citadel of Corinth; and, advancing towards the heart of the Peloponnesus, ravaged all the country before him, and compelled the unfortunate brothers to fly, the one to Epidaurο, and the other to Mantinæa. Without foreign

* Knolles' History of the Turks, vol. i. p. 241.

aid or domestic power, nothing but submission ^{A.D.} remained ; and Demetrius and Thomas again _{1453.} crouched to the tyrant, and accepted at his hands their lives and their reinstated vassalage, with the exception of those districts which he had seized, and which he insisted on retaining.

Three years of comparative peace again ensued, but civil broils usurped the place of external terror, and Mahomet, irritated by a second suspension of his tribute, resolved to commence a fresh expedition, and by a final subjection of the Morea to complete the conquest of Greece.

On the first notice of his approach, the feeble Demetrius at once surrendered to his summons, whilst his more manly brother prepared to defend to the last the sole inheritance which now remained to the name or the descendants of Palæologus. Mahomet accepted the submission of Demetrius, and hurried on to the conquest of his brother. His lieutenant, Zogan Pacha, was dismissed to reduce Elis and Achaia ; whilst the Sultan pursued the forlorn Prince from Sparta to Arcadia, and at length reduced him to one solitary castle on the Western Coast.*

Here, for upwards of a year, the valiant chieftain maintained himself against the most

* Called by Knolles, Salmenica.

A. D. 1463. vigorous assaults of the Sultan, and compelled Mahomet to exclaim, "that in Greece he had met with many slaves, but no soldier except the besieged Prince." At length, when valour could do no more, and when famine was fast urging a surrender, Thomas made his escape to the coast, and succeeded in reaching the shores of Italy, where he was honourably received by Pius II. and supported during the residue of his life at the expense of the state. Demetrius, in the mean time, returned with the Sultan to Constantinople; and Mahomet having eventually married his daughter, he was invested with the government of the city of Ænum, and supported by the revenue arising from a duty upon salt. The Morea, with the exception of some points still occupied by the Venetians, was now thoroughly subdued, and A. D. 1460. Greece had submitted, almost from north to south, to the sceptre of the Moslems; the power, and almost the name, of the Palæologi, was crushed;* and Mahomet proceeded to new conquests in more distant regions.

* It would be needless for me here to trace the ultimate fate of the family of the Palæologi; it has been done, but rather erroneously, by Gibbon; but there is a fact not commonly known, that, perhaps, the *only* descendants of the royal line are at present existing in poverty in England, and earning a miserable existence as boatmen in the harbour of Plymouth!

I must not, however, omit to mention the ^{A.D. 1400.} revolutions and fate of Athens. The city and

I extract the following particulars from the eighteenth Volume of the *Archæologia* published by the Society of Antiquaries of London :—

“It may be interesting to communicate a curious fact, perhaps not generally known, that about two centuries ago, in an obscure corner of the kingdom, lived and died Theodore Paleologus, the immediate descendant of the Constantine family, and, in all probability, the lineal heir to the Empire of Greece.

“In the parish church of Landulph, in the eastern extremity of Cornwall, is a small brass tablet fixed against the wall, with the following inscription :—

‘Here lyeth y^e body of Theodore Paleologus, of Pesaro in Italye, descended from y^e Imperyal lyne of y^e last Christian Emperors of Greece, being the sonne of Camilio, y^e sonne of Prosper, the sonne of Theodoro, the sonne of John, y^e sonne of Thomas, second brother of Constantine Paleologus, the 8th of that name, and last of y^e lyne y^e rayned in Constantinople until subdued by y^e Turks, who married wth Mary, y^e daughter of William Balls, of Hadlye in Suffolke, Gent. and had issue 5 children, Theodore, John, Ferdinando, Maria, and Dorothy; and departed this life at Clyfton, y^e 21st of Jan. 1636.’

“Above the inscription are the imperial arms, proper, of the Empire of Greece : an eagle displayed with two heads, the two legs resting upon two gates; the imperial crown over the whole, and betweene the gates a crescent for difference as second son.”

The writer of the article (the Rev. Fr. Vyvyan Jago, F. S. A. Rector of Landulph,) here introduces some details

A.D. 1460. its dependencies had remained for four generations* in the family of Otho de la Roche, till

regarding the family of the Palæologi, their dispersion after the conquest of Constantinople, and the *probable* cause of Theodore's arrival in England; and adds, (page 90):—

“ But whatever may be our conjectures as to Theodore's removal from Italy, we know that in 1615 he was actually in England, at Hadlye in Suffolk, and (then a widower) married Mary, daughter of William Balls, of that town. No traces of the Balls family remain at present, either from tradition or otherwise, except the register of Theodore's marriage; and even here, Mr. Wilkins, the minister, who has favoured me with a copy of this register, says that it is too mutilated and imperfect to decipher accurately the name of Palæologus.

“ The issue of this marriage, as the monument tells us, were five children, Theodore, John, Ferdinando, Maria, and Dorothy, all of whom must have been born before Theodore left the eastern part of the kingdom; for the register of Landulph, perfect till the year 1629, makes no mention whatever of the name. He could not, therefore, have settled at Clifton, in Landulph, earlier than 1622 or 1623.

“ Clifton, a few years before this, in 1600, was the mansion of the Arundels; but in 1630, Sir Nicholas Lower, a Cornish gentleman, who married Sir Henry Killigrew's daughter, was living at Clifton.

“ Between these two dates, Palæologus must have come here; and what is more particular, he died at Clifton, in 1636, at the very time that Clifton was the residence of Sir Nicholas Lower.

“ I have made repeated inquiries of the old people of the parish, but not the slightest tradition remains respecting him;

* Vide the Genealogical Tables of Ducange.

Hugh, Count of Brienne, having married ^{A.D. 1460.}
about the close of the thirteenth century Isa-

and here again conjecture must supply the place of fact. When Theodore came to Clifton, he came *with his family*, for, by the register, it appears one of his daughters married in the parish, and the other died here unmarried. There must then have been some connexion between either the Arundel or Lower family and himself.

“As to the first supposition,—if it is probable he came into England with Sir Thomas Arundel from the battles in Hungary, we may suppose Sir Thomas recommended him to Landulph, as, from its vicinity to the sea, and warmth of climate, more nearly resembling the climate and situation of Pesaro than any other place in the kingdom. In this case, we may suppose him to have taken Clifton for a term; and as the house appears to have been *originally divided into two*, the subsequent occupier, Sir Nicholas Lower, and Palæologus, might be both living at Clifton at the same time, unconnected with each other.

“The more probable supposition, however, is, that he settled at Clifton, from the connexion that subsisted between Sir Henry Killigrew, (who, I feel strongly inclined to believe, brought him to England,) and Sir Nicholas Lower. Sir Nicholas Lower married Sir Henry's daughter, and, as they were now advanced in life, without any family, the society of Palæologus and his children might be desirable to them, particularly when we recollect that this was the time when the Greek language was so much in fashion in England, that even ladies studied it most zealously; that Lady Killigrew was one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, celebrated for her literary attainments, and particularly her knowledge of Greek; and it is reasonable to suppose her daughter, Lady Lower, wife of Sir Nicholas, was brought up

A. D. 1460. *bella de la Roche*,* widow of Geoffroi, Signor of Karitena, and daughter of Guillaume, the

with the same fondness for the classic languages; and where could she expect to find so able an instructor as a descendant of the first family in the Greek empire? or what place could be more suited to classical pursuits than the retirement of a country mansion, such as Clifton? ..

"On the 21st of January, 1636, as appears by the monument, Theodore Palæologus died at Clifton, Sir Nicholas and Lady Lower being still alive; of whom, the latter died in 1638, and Sir Nicholas in 1655.

"The Landulph register, perfect from 1540 to 1628, has then a great chasm left till the year 1649; and during this interval, all the entries that would have been probably most interesting to our inquiries were made.

"Some little time since, I examined the duplicates of parish registers deposited in the room of the archives in Exeter Cathedral; and after a laborious search among the registers of two centuries, thrown promiscuously together, without arrangement as to either parishes or dates, and those, for the most part, obliterated by the damp, I had the good fortune to recover the Landulph register for the year 1636, which had the following entry:

'Theodore Palæologus was buried the 20th daye of October.'

"By the monument, Theodore is said to have died the 21st of January 1636; from the register, it appears he was buried October 20, 1636. It can hardly be supposed the body was kept from January till October; and the difficulty is increased from the knowledge, that, by the mode of calculation in use at that time, the year commenced at Lady-

* Vide the Genealogical Tables of Ducange.

fourth Duke of Athens, his son, Gautier,* succeeded, in right of his mother, to the title and

A. D.
1460.

day; so that, if he died January 21, 1636, the 20th of October following must have been in 1637.

"The body, if it remained any considerable time uninterred, would have been inclosed in a *lead-coffin*; but this was not the case, for about twenty years ago, when the vault was accidentally opened, the coffin of Palæologus was seen,—a *single oak-coffin*; and curiosity prompting to lift the lid, the body of Palæologus was discovered, and in so perfect a state, as to ascertain him to have been in stature much above the common height, his countenance of an oval form, much lengthened, and strongly marked by an aquiline nose, and a very white beard reaching low on the breast.

"FAMILY OF THEODORE.

"Of the five children left by him, no traces remain of two sons, John and Ferdinando. Whether they joined the brothers of Sir Nicholas Lower, who were distinguished cavaliers on the King's side, in the unhappy wars that distracted the country soon after the death of Theodore, and in which Major Lower gallantly fell, or whether the miserable state of England induced them again to revisit Italy, cannot be ascertained.

"Theodore was a sailor, and served on board the *Charles the Second*, Captain Gibson. He died at sea, 1693, as appears by a will and power in the Commons, obligingly communicated to me by Francis Townsend, Esq. Windsor Herald. This is dated August 1, 1693, and solely in favour of his wife Martha. If he had any children, they are not named in it. The signature is Theodore Paleology; and though described simply as mariner, it should seem he was

* *Walter.*

A. D.
1480. estates of the house. The term of their succession was, however, of short continuance; and, in an insurrection of his mercenaries, the Catalans, Gautier, the third Duke of the house of Brienne,* lost his life and his dominions, which became the inheritance of the victorious insurgents.

possessed of landed estate, as there are four witnesses, Charles Gibson, commander, J. Wright, John Corneth, Richard Roberts.

"Mary Palæologus died at Landulph, unmarried, in 1674; and her sister Dorothy was married in 1656, to William Arundell, the grandson, probably, of Alexander Arundell, of Clifton. This marriage is registered at Landulph and St. Mellion, as solemnized in both parishes; the entry at the latter is '*Dorothea Paleologus de stirpe Imperatorum.*' Soon after their marriage they settled in St. Dominick, an adjoining parish, the registers of which have been accidentally destroyed: it is impossible now to determine if they had any issue, though it seems highly probable. They were both buried at Landulph, Dorothy in 1681, and her husband in 1684; and as, some years after, a Mary Arundell was married to Francis Lee, the imperial blood perhaps still flows in the bargemen of Cargreen."†

* Gibbon is inaccurate in stating, that the Catalans vanquished Walter, the son of Hugh de Brienne. The duchy remained in the family during *three* successions, and was lost by the *grandson* of the founder.

† "Cargreen is a parish on the Tamar near Plymouth, and several members of the family alluded to, the Lees, are at this moment employed as watermen, on the Hamoase."

This band of errant warriors, composed of various nations, and said to have been of Gothic or Arabian origin,* had been actively employed during the wars of Sicily under the standards of Anjou or Arragon,† and after the establishment of peace in that kingdom, had passed over to the assistance of Andronicus the elder, against the encroachments of the Turks. Their leader, Roger de la Flor, led eighteen galleys, four large ships, and 8000 soldiers to Constantinople; and, during the wars in Asia, was mainly instrumental in the preservation of the cities of the Eastern empire.

At length, however, the haughty ally became the despotic ruler of his friends; and Andronicus, after vainly attempting to subdue him by kindness, caused him to be assassinated in his palace at Adrianople.

On the death of their leader, the band had dispersed themselves along the shores of the Mediterranean and the coasts of Greece, whilst one party, who had taken possession of Gallipoli, defeated in several encounters the troops of Michael, son to the Emperor, and became finally the nucleus of that host, who, under the

* *Moncada*, (Espedicion de los Catalanes, &c. contra los Turcos, &c.)

† Gibbon.

A. D. 1460. name of the "Great Company," remained for a long series of years the terror of the emperors, and the scourge of these dominions.* One party, who had penetrated into Thessaly, attempted to possess themselves of the city of Thessalonica; but, being disappointed in these attempts, descended into the plains of Larissa, whence, by the advice of John Ducas, the governor of the district,† they continued their route towards the duchy of Athens, and encamped on the banks of the Cephissus which separates Boeotia from Livadia.

There is here some discrepancy in their history: Nicephorus Gregoras asserting, that on their first appearance they were met with hostility and arrogance‡ by Gautier, and that, before coming to any understanding, a battle

* I quote from Gibbon, but Ducange (lib. vii. c. 10) dates the origin of the Great Company from the conquest of Athens.

† Nic. Gregoras, lib. vii. p. 27.

‡ "Cum autem Thebarum et Athenarum Princeps, &c. adventum didicisset, Catelanis transitum petentibus, ut per ejus ditionem, quò vellent abire liceret, dare noluit: sed non parvo cum fastu et derisu, ut non magnopere curandos contempsit, cum suàs vires per autumnum et hyemen ad ver usque collegisset. Parabant sese et Catelani ut aut *statim* morituri aut victuri cum gloria." The subsequent chapter contains the stratagem and the overthrow of the Duke.—Gregoras, lib. vii. p. 276. .

ensued, in which, by an artful statagem,* the duke was slain, and the Catalans usurped his dominion; whilst on the other hand, Moncada, Count of Osona,† the Spanish historian of the war, states them to have been most readily and kindly received by the Duke, and enticed by advantageous offers to enter into his service.

Here they were employed in the reduction of the castles of the neighbouring princes;‡ and

* Gibbon, c. lxii.

† “El Duque de Atenas luego que supo que el exercito de los Catalanes avia pasado los montes, i atravesado la Blaquia embio con *mucha diligencia* sus enbaxadores a las cabeças del exercito temiendo que otros principes vezinos recibiesen a los Catalanes en su servicio, porche como era milicia de tanta estimacion *todos procurava de tener la en su favor* i assi el con grandes ofrecimientos de pagas i *suelos aventajados* les acordò la palabra que le dieron en Casandria de venille a servir quando el envio a Roger Deslau (the leader of the expedition, and subsequent Duke of Athens.) Los Catalanes oida la enbaxada del Duque, les parecio mas util su amistad que la de los otros Principes vezinos i *assi se concluyò el trato con el que fue el mismo con que servieron al Emperador Andronico.*” *Espedicion de los Catalanes i Aragoneses contra Turcos i Griegos por Don Francisco de Moncada Conde de Osona.* Barcelona, 4to. 1623. cap. lxiii. p. 170.

‡ “Le Duc ayant conclu un traité avec les Catelans, et les ayant reçu en sa solde, declara la guerre à ces princes, (John Duke of Patras, and Thomas Despot of Arta,) et avec leur (the Catelans) assistance reprit plus de trente châteaux qu’ils lui avoient enlevé, et enfin les obligea à une paix.”—Ducange, lib. vii. See also Gibbon, cap. lxii

A. D.
1460.

A. D.
1480. one portion of the body being rewarded with lands and fiefs, the discontent of the remainder led to the rupture of the chiefs, and consequent overthrow of Gautier, whilst Roger Deslau usurped his possessions. During his life the arms of the Catalans succeeded in reducing to their sway large districts both to the West and North of Athens, and in rendering them rich and powerful in the extreme; but on his decease, the number of competitors for the succession induced them to adopt the prudent step of placing the duchy in the hands of Frederic King of Sicily, and soliciting from him a governor who would command the affections whilst he neutralized the pretensions of the disappointed candidates.*

Frederic received their homage, and during the remainder of the fourteenth century Athens remained an appendage of the Sicilian monarchs of the house of Arragon.†

At length, however, a dispute between two of the minor despots of Greece led to the downfall of the Catalans, and the establishment of a new dynasty in their dominions. Renier Acciajuoli, a Florentine, whom I have already mentioned as being possessed of Corinth and other districts in the Morea, had found occasion

* Moncada, cap. 70, p. 182-6.

† Gibbon.

of quarrel with Helena, Countess of Soula, who held some estates in Attica and Bœotia, and was mistress of the city of Patras, (near Thermopylæ,) in her refusing to give her daughter, (or step-daughter,) in marriage to one of his relations:* the rupture was at length to be decided only by arms. The Genoese of Negropont sent forward their assistance to the Acciajuoli, whilst the Catalans sided with the faction of Helena. The fortune of the day inclined to Renier, and he remained master of the Duchy of Thebes and Athens.†

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1460.A.D.
1386.

The family of Renier consisted of two daughters and one illegitimate son named Antonio. To the former, who were married to the despots of Sparta and Epirus, he left his possessions in the Morea; and to the latter he bequeathed the districts of Thebes and Bœotia. Athens, according to Chalcondyles, he made over by will to the Venetians;‡ the remainder of his

* Ducange, lib. vii. cap. 42.

† “Chalcondyle semble dire que Renier prit la ville d'Athènes sur les *Navarrois* des-quels nous avons parlé ci-devant, ce qui n'est pas éloigné de probabilité, veu qu'il raconte ailleurs que les troupes de Louys de Navarre (Compte de Beaumont) firent plusieurs conquêtes sur les Catalans de Duché d'Athènes.”—Ducange, lib. vii. c. xliii.

‡ Τῇ τε Ἀθηνῶν πόλει—κατέλιπε (ὁ Δοῦξ Πανερῖος) τοῖς Οὐνεροῖς.—Laon. Chal. liv. p. 113.—See also Meursius de For. Ath. p. 110.

A.D.
1460. possessions, in Phocis and Livadia, had been already subdued by the Turks under Bajazet. Antonio was, however, by no means content with the arrangements of his father, and in a bold attempt succeeded in routing the Venetians and seizing on the city.* He subsequently married the daughter of a priest at Thebes;† and having concluded a peace with the Venetians, and entered into an alliance with the Sultan Amurath, he died, leaving his estates and prodigious wealth to his widow and two daughters.‡

The former immediately sent to place herself under the protection of Amurath, and Chalcondyles, father to the historian, was one of the persons who formed the embassy. During this interval, however, a relation of the late duke, Renier, or, as he is usually called, Nerio,§ succeeded in exciting a party amongst the Athenians in his favour, and placing himself in the ducal chair: whilst Amurath embraced this opportunity to advance to the assistance of the widow of Antonio; but without dethroning the usurper, he contented himself with ravaging the

* Fanelli, Atene Att. p. 294. † Fanelli.

‡ Ducange, lib. viii. p. 303. Fanelli says he had no children by his wife, but *adopted* two daughters. "Non havendo havuto di quella prole di sorte alcuna, marito due figliuole *addottire*, l'una con Galeotto Malatesta," &c: &c. p. 294, s. 595.

§ Ducange, ib. Meursius, p. 110.

district of Thebes, and again withdrawing his troops to Adrianople. A. D.
1460.

Nerio was in turn deposed by his brother Antonio, who held the government till his decease, which occurred in A. D. 1435, and Turachan, a lieutenant of the Sultan, seized the occasion of his death to occupy Thebes and Boeotia, whilst Nerio, returning from his retirement at Florence, was reinstated in the Duchy of Athens. He left one son, Francis, who at the period of his death was living at the court of Mahomet the Second. His mother having married Priuli,* a Venetian and Governor of Napoli di Romania, wished to invest her husband with the inheritance of her son; but Francis being placed in the government, by the influence of the Sultan, revenged the attempted injury by the imprisonment and final execution of his unfortunate parent.

The vengeance of Mahomet was excited against the unnatural parricide, or the present moment (as is more likely) appeared to give a colouring of retributive justice to the efforts of ambition; and Omar, the son of Turachan, was despatched to the conquest of Athens. Francis made a bold but inefficient defence, and finally surrendered by capitulation to the victorious

* Fanelli calls him Pietro Almerio, Patricio Veneto, Rettore di Napoli Romania. s. 615, lib. iii.

A. D. 1460 Turks, and Athens was cast into the abyss of the Ottoman empire, A. D. 1456,* three years after the conquest of Constantinople.†

During all this long series of revolution and poverty, the history of Greece is merely a detail of the adventures of her invaders: the name of her citizens but seldom occurs in the page of her melancholy annals, and as for her genius, it had ceased to shine, or if it did exist, it was like the latent glow in the Phosphorescent Stone of Bologna, which grows dull and dormant amidst surrounding darkness, and requires the beams of the mid-day sun to rekindle its lustre and relume its fires.

The manners of her sons had become assimilated in a great degree with those of their resident invaders; but still the haughty spirit in-

* Chalcocondyles, lib. ix.

† "Onze ans après, Victor Capella, Général de l'armée navale des Venetiens, s'étant emparé de l'Isle de l'Imbro, surprit la ville d'Athènes, mais elle retomba incontinent après en la puissance des Turcs." †—Ducange, lib. viii.

‡ "Vere ejusdem anni Victor Capellius, classis Venetæ præfectus generalis, insulam Imbrum rursusque Athenas navigans totam urbem reipublicæ subjecit," &c. (Here Phranza goes on to relate its almost immediate capture in the August following.)—Phranza, lib. iii. c. xxviii.

Sabellico Histor. Venet. Dec. iii. lib. viii. p. 731.—Chandler, Chateaubriand, &c. &c.

herent to the blood which crept, however sluggishly, in their veins, forbade them to totally relinquish the habits of their fathers for the customs of the barbarous stranger, and they still retained a sufficiency of their former characteristics to tell the world that they were Greeks.

Despoiled by hordes of successive invaders, poverty must have brooded over their fields, and, exposed to the ravages of frequent besiegers, ruin reigned throughout their cities. Piccolomini, in his Description of Europe under Frederic the Third, down to the year A. D. 1358, describes the state of Athens at this period as one of abject destitution, and scarcely exceeding in extent the bounds of an ordinary village. "In hâc (Atticâ) civitas Atheniensium quondam nobilissima fuit, nullius indiga præconii, tanta ejus superfluit claritas. Eadem nostro tempore *parvi oppidi* speciem gerit." (cap. xi.) Nor was the prospect of a change one which was to be looked forward to with exultation or contemplated with ardour. Gibbon has formed no erroneous conclusion, when he asserts that the conquest of Greece by the Ottomans was a favourable epoch in their history, and a desirable alteration from the endless revolutions and civil dissensions of their European lords. Under both, the brilliant spirit of the Greeks

A. D.
1400.

A. D. 1480. was hushed to slumber; but with the one her rest was the feverish dream of misery, with the other the torpid lethargy of despair.

The exploits of Mahomet, after his establishment at Constantinople, appear, with few exceptions, to have been attended with that extraordinary success which characterised his earlier efforts; but amongst his most important failures, was the total defeat of his troops before Belgrade,* in 1456; by the renowned Hungarian, John Hunniades, which compelled him to abandon for a time the attempt to reduce the North, and direct his arms against the more promising and less warlike inhabitants of the Levant. His fleet accordingly had put to sea, and having succeeded in capturing a number of important islands, had commenced the siege of Rhodes, when a squadron of sixteen sail, fitted out by Calixtus III. completely routed and dispersed his gallies off the shores of the island, and compelled him to abandon the attempt.

It was eight years after the fall of Constantine, ere he overthrew the kingdom of Trebizond,† in A. D. 1461; and in the following year he directed his course against Waldus, Prince of Wallachia. Here, however, he was again foiled; and again he consoled himself

* See Knolles, vol. i. p. 248.

† See p. 135.

for his defeat, by a fresh attack upon the Isles of the Ægean, which proved more fortunate than his former expedition; and the important island of Mitylene was transferred from the possession of its prince, Nicholas Calusius,* to the dominion of Mahomet. Tired with the fruitless war which in the mean time he had been pursuing in Epirus, and wearied out with the repeated discomfitures inflicted on him by Scanderbeg, he about this time proposed terms of accommodation with the mountain warrior, and a peace was concluded between them on the 22nd of June, A. D. 1461.

A. D.
1460.

The main object of this arrangement was, however, a dread of the Venetians, who had for some time been expressing serious discontent at the insolence and aggressions of the Turks in the Morea and the coasts of Greece. Those cities which had fallen to their lot on the division of the Empire by the Crusaders, they had tenaciously maintained, amidst frequent interruptions and continued revolutionary broils. Modon and Coron, Argos, Napoli di Romania, and numerous other towns in the Morea, were still in their possession, whilst their tributaries occupied the countless islands of the Cyclades. Lately, however, Omar, one of the most powerful of Mahomet's lieutenants,

* Knolles, vol. i. p. 247.

A. D.
1460. had spoiled the country about Lépanto, and passing along the Western Coast of the Peninsula, had attacked the fortresses of Modon and Coron, whilst Josua, another of the Sultan's retainers, had succeeded, by treachery, in taking possession of Argos, in the bay of Napoli.

It was with extreme caution that the Venetians entered upon this important war, as well from their existing alliances of peace with the Ottomans, as from a dread of their overweening power. At length, reiterated wrongs, and the taunts of their European neighbours, forced them to arm for their own defence; and a fleet, under the command of Alovísio Loredano, was sent into the Ægean, on board of which were
A. D.
1463. 15,000 land forces, led by Bertoldo D'Este, and destined for the siege of Argos.* In a few days from their landing, they got possession of the city, whilst the Turkish garrison retired

* Modern Universal History, vol. xxvii. p. 190. The compiler of this volume has made a strange error throughout his account of the war in the Morea, in substituting the name of *Othman* for *Mahomet II.* The fact is, that this portion of the work is almost exclusively a translation from Sabellico's History of Venice, who, in the course of his detail, denominates Mahomet the "Ottoman King," and "the Ottoman," ("Othomanus Rex," and "Othomanus,") which the author of the Mod. Univ. Hist. has, without farther examination, rendered a surname instead of an epithet.

to the Acropolis;* but being possessed of no efficient means of defence, they almost immediately capitulated, whilst the priest, who had originally betrayed the city to the Turks, was captured by the Venetians, and executed without delay or mercy. A guard was left within the fortress, for the security of the town, and Bertoldo retired with his forces to Napoli di Romania.

A. D.
1463.

Hence, after a short delay, he again sallied out to attack the country to the North of Argos; and having, almost without opposition, reduced the town of Basilium (now Agio Vasili), he advanced to the shores of Corinth, and being joined in the Gulf by the fleet of Lore-dano, they, in conjunction, prepared to re-erect the *hexamilion*, or wall across the Isthmus, which had been destroyed in the early invasions of the Turks. Thirty thousand men were occupied for fifteen days in this labour, which they completed with equal strength and expedition, in spite of the efforts of four thousand Turks, who advanced from Corinth to oppose them.†

A detachment was now sent to attack Mis-

* Sabellicus, Decadis iii. lib. viii.

† Sabellicus, Dec. iii. l. viii. The author of the Mod. Univ. Hist. quotes the same passage; but, with his usual accuracy, translates "Quatuor Turcorum millia," six thousand Turks.

A. D.
1463. tra and Leondari in Laconia, whilst the general in person attempted the siege of Corinth. His efforts were, however, in vain : during the assault, a cannon-ball put an end to the career of Este ; and his followers, having sustained a signal defeat,* retired, under the command of Betinus Calcinatius, to Napoli di Romania, where they were speedily pursued by the Turks, who in their passage occupied and set fire to the lately recovered city of Argos. Two attempts were here made by the Ottomans to gain possession of the fortress, but being disappointed in both, they again traversed the shores of the bay, and struck off into the heart of the Morea. Hence they overran the districts in the vicinity of Modon and Coron, and having perpetrated every species of rapine and barbarity, retired in the autumn to their quarters at Corinth ; whilst the Venetians made ample reprisal by the devastation of the villages and district of Arcadia.

The succeeding year was consumed in some fruitless attempts, on the part of the Venetians, to seize upon Mitylene and occupy Sparta ; and having spent another twelve months in inactive expectation of a general crusade against the Turks, attempted to be excited by the Pope, Victor Capello, who had succeeded Loredano

* Marcellus, &c. de Vita Duc. Ven. p. 109.

in the command of the fleet, recommenced operations in the spring of 1466. He sailed for Eubœa with five and twenty gallies, and seized upon Aulis; thence he occupied Larsus in the bay of Salonica; Imbrus, an island in the *Ægean*, between Lemnos and Samothrace; and Athens, as I have before mentioned.* Hence he again coasted around the Morea, and attacked the district of Patras. His assault on the city proved, however, disastrous; he lost 8000 men, and was forced to retire in defeat to Chalcis in Eubœa. "From that day," says Sabellico, "Victor Capello was never seen to smile;† sadness seized his soul, and perpetual languor paralyzed his spirit, till, in eight months from the battle of Patras, he expired at Chalcis of a broken heart."

A. D.
1466.A. D.
1466.

The three succeeding years were spent in the pursuit of petty hostilities, which tended neither to the advancement of Venice, nor the disadvantage of the Porte; but during this interval Mahomet became freed from one of his most dreaded opponents, by the death of Scanderbeg.‡

Epirus, from the period of its subjection to the restored Emperor Michael,§ down to

* See note to page 156.

† Dec. iii. lib. viii. p. 732. Fanelli, p. 303, lib. iii. s. 638.

‡ Jan. 17, 1466.

§ See page pp. 113, 117.

A.D. 1467. the death of Andronicus Palæologus III.* had continued to be governed by the descendants of Michael the first Despot. During the commotions, however, which ensued on the decease of the Emperor, and the attempt of John Catacuzene to usurp the throne of Constantinople, Stephen Duscian, the Cral of Servia,† having overrun Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus, assumed the title of Emperor of the Romans, and uniting Joannina, Triccala, and Larissa, under the command of one of his followers named Prelupus, gave Ætolia and Acarnania as a despotate to his brother Simon.

On the death of Stephen and Prelupus, Simon attempted to seize on the kingdom of the former to the prejudice of his son; and whilst he was occupied in this unjust undertaking, Nicephorus, a Greek of Acarnania, took possession of the Western despotate, of which he retained the dominion, till slain in an engagement with the Albanians near the source of the Achelous.‡

This people, who are generally considered to

* A.D. 1341.

† The circumstances of this usurpation are detailed from original MSS. in the first volume of Hughes's Travels in Greece and Albania.

‡ Catacuzene, lib. ii. c. 32.

be a remnant of some Illyrian nation whom ^{A.D. 1467.} their mountain fortresses had preserved from an intermixture with the Goths, the Huns, and other barbarian invaders, were now beginning to emerge from that mysterious seclusion in which they had buried themselves for so many successive centuries,* and, during the subsequent decline of the Byzantine monarchs, succeeded in occupying almost the entire extent of Illyria and Epirus.

Immediately on the death of Nicephorus, Simon regained, without opposition, his former territory, but confining his cares almost exclusively to his Wallachian possessions, he conferred the Western provinces, with the exception of Ætolia and Acarnania, which had been already seized by the Albanians, on Thomas, a son of Prelupus, who had lately espoused his daughter Angelina. The reign of this monster was one continued series of enormities and cruelty, which he exercised on his Grecian subjects in order to enrich or gratify his Servian followers. The Epirots, during his life, were reduced to the utmost misery, as well by oppression and pestilence, as by the constant in-

* From the time of Ptolemy, who flourished in the reign of Hadrian and the two Antonines, (A.D. 117-161,) I believe they are not mentioned by any historian.—Note, Hughes, vol. ii.

A. D.
1467. by all the ties of religion, friendship, and gratitude ; but ambition or exasperation at these tyrannic proceedings of his patron, soon subdued every gentler feeling in the mind of the young Greek, and an occasion was not long wanting to throw off the mask and declare himself the asserter of his rights and the avenger of his family.

During the war of Amurath with the Hungarians, he commanded a wing of the Turkish army, and taking advantage of a disastrous action in the vicinity of Belgrade, he deserted from the Sultan, seized the person of his flying Secretary, whom, with his train, he put to death, after compelling him to direct an order to the Governor of Croia, in Albania, ordering him to surrender the command of the city and fortress to Scanderbeg. The scheme was successful ; he replaced the Turkish Governors with Albanians who had fled to his standard, abjured Mahomedanism, and, proclaiming instant hostility to the Sultan, he attacked with unrelenting fury those bodies of Turks who had settled in Epirus.

The enthusiasm of his countrymen supplied him with an ample revenue, and his early successes drew around him the hardy adventurers of Europe. His discipline and example soon organised a powerful and determined army ; and

for three and twenty years, he defied and routed the overwhelming forces which Amurath and Mahomet were enabled to lead against him. At length, however, some partial defeats began to check his career of patriotic valour, and disheartened his followers; and he was unfortunately deserted by his nephew, and some of his neighbouring allies. Frequent disappointments, too, occurred on the part of his European supporters; and several of his fortresses having fallen by means of bribery into the hands of Mahomet, his power became at last almost exhausted,

A. D.
1467.

He still, however, maintained a resolute independence; but in 1466, having gone to Lyssa, a Venetian town on the coast of Albania, in order to hold a council with some European Ambassadors, he was seized with a fever, and expired on the 17th of January, in the sixty-third year of his age. Such was the respect which the Turks entertained for his memory, that his bones were subsequently disinterred by Mahomet, and portions of them being encased in golden locket, were worn as talismans by his Ottoman followers. Epirus, on the death of Scanderbeg, was left without a head or a protector: it was quickly occupied by the troops of the Sultan, who, having gained an easy possession of its long disputed territory,

A. D.
1467. returned with renewed vigour to the prosecution of the Venetian war.

One of his first objects was the seizure of Eubœa, or Negropont,* which he took in despite of the efforts of the Venetians, and a vigorous defence of the garrison.† But fearing that so bold a step might hasten the exasperation of the European monarchs, and produce a confederate war against him, he now proceeded with admirable policy to conclude and establish a peace with Venice. Their General, Mocenigo, was however in no haste to come to terms; a long period of inveteracy and hostility ensued; but, at length, a truce was concluded during the government of the Doge Giovanni Mocenigo, A.D. 1478.

* The narrow strait which separates Eubœa from the main land, was called Euripus, or as the modern Greeks pronounce it "Evripus," whence comes *εις την Εὐρίπον*, and, by contraction, *Νεῦρον*, which has been Italianized into *Negroponte*—As the modern name of Athens, *Sethines*, is, *εις Ἀθῆνας*,—and *Stamboul*, (Constantinople,) *εις την πολιν*.

† The Author of *Mod. Univ. Hist.* erroneously dates this event three years sooner.—Sabellico, Dec. iii. lib. viii. p. 740.

CHAPTER VI.

From the close of the first Venetian War, to the battle of
Lepanto. A.D. 1478—1571.

AN interval of twenty years now occurs of ^{A. D.} comparative quiet and tranquillity: it was ^{1478.} during this period, that Mahomet made his unsuccessful attempt with 100,000 men to reduce the island of Rhodes*, which was defended by the Grand Master and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, with a valour which has no parallel in history, and a success that almost surpasses the romance of fiction. But a long period was about to be put to the career of his victories; and twelve months after his repulse at Rhodes, the mighty scourge of Christendom expired at a village in Bithynia, whilst pursuing his Asiatic conquests. His remains were transported to Constantinople, and Bajazet, his son, succeeded to the Ottoman sceptre. ^{A. D.} ^{1481.}

Other affairs occupied his attention during

* A D. 1480.

- A. D. 1481. the first years of his stormy reign; but at length he determined to root out the last remnants of the Venetians, whose small patches of territory scattered over Greece, had been an eye-sore in his dominions. His first attempts were made upon Friuli, part of the Venetian territory upon the frontiers of Italy.* At the same time he sent round to the western coast of the Morea a fleet, whose strength had been unequalled by the equipments of his predecessors. This armament was vainly opposed by the galleys of the Venetians, under the Admiral Grimani. They held on their way towards the Gulf of Lepanto, and being joined by the troops of Bajazet, attacked, stormed, and garrisoned the city.† The following spring, with an equal force, he successively captured the cities of Modon, Navarino, and Coron;‡ and left to the Venetians no other point of consequence than the fortress of Napoli di Romania. This the Turks vainly attempted to reduce, but, being completely baffled during the two following years, they concluded a peace with the Republic, on the terms of retaining their mutual conquests, the Doge having in the
- A. D. 1500. the cities of Modon, Navarino, and Coron;‡ and left to the Venetians no other point of consequence than the fortress of Napoli di Romania. This the Turks vainly attempted to reduce, but, being completely baffled during the two following years, they concluded a peace with the Republic, on the terms of retaining their mutual conquests, the Doge having in the
- A. D. 1503. the Republic, on the terms of retaining their mutual conquests, the Doge having in the

* Knolles, vol. i. p. 311.

† Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. x. p. 11.

‡ Ibid. Modon was, in 1532, occupied by Doria, the Admiral of Charles V. but surrendered in the year following.

interval occupied Cephalonia and some islands of the Ægean.* A. D.
1503.

For nearly thirty years the condition of Greece underwent but little alteration ; the civil establishments of the Turks were gradually becoming fixed throughout her districts, and the estates possessed by the Venetians were so trifling, that their influence could affect the unfortunate Greeks neither in a political nor an intellectual point of view. The remainder of the reign of Bajazet, and the entire government of his successor Selim I. was a series of undisturbed repose ; but the broils of Solyman I. the tenth Emperor of the Turks, with Charles V. involved, by slow degrees, the states of Venice ; war was proclaimed against them, the Morea was invested by the Ottoman troops, and the Ægean was swept by the fleets of Barbarossa. A. D.
1520—
1566.

A. D.
1534.

The dukedom of Naxos, which had subsisted for nearly three hundred years, now received its death-blow, and became finally extinct during the subsequent reign. After the decease of Angelo, the son of Marco Sanuto, its founder, the dominions of the Duchy descended to Marco, the third Duke. During his reign, Baldwin, the last Latin Emperor, was driven from Constantinople, and took re-

* Cantemir, p. 183. Mignot, t. i. p. 348, 351.

A. D.
1634. fuge at Naxos, whence he finally retired to Negropont, and thence to Italy. Marco and his immediate successors continued, notwithstanding the rising power of the Palæologi, to favour the party of the dethroned monarch, and the imbecility of the restored Emperors alone prevented them from repaying their disloyalty with dethronement. Down to the reign of Mahomet II., and the conquest of Constantinople, they continued alternating between the factions of Genoa and Venice; and it was only when the power of the Turks became universally alarming, that they coalesced with the Greeks in one common league for their mutual defence. The puny efforts of the allies were, however, unavailing; the advancing Ottomans sneered at their bootless alliances; and at length, during the reign of James, the thirteenth Duke, in 1453, Mahomet succeeded in seating himself on the throne of Byzantium.

At this period, however, the Turks were too busily and importantly occupied in arranging the affairs of their recent conquest on the continent, to devote the requisite attention and energy to the reduction of the islands. For nearly a century, the successive Dukes remained unmolested; and blindly relying on the popular fallacy, which represented the Turks as powerless, and on the verge of annihilation, they continued to aid each feeble enterprise

undertaken by the monarchs of Christendom A. D.
1524. for their subversion.

At last, when Solyman I. had succeeded in expelling the Knights of St. John from the island of Rhodes,* he obtained by this one blow the mastery of the Cyclades; but some time elapsed ere he attempted their final subjugation. In the interim, having found occasion for a quarrel with the Venetians, he had attempted the reduction of Corfu; but being baffled there, and unwilling to withdraw his forces without some shadow of reason, however specious, he ordered Cassin Pacha, the Sangiac of the Morea, to invest Napoli di Romania, and Barbarossa to sail round the Peninsula, in order to support him with his fleet. In pursuance of these instructions, the Turkish Capitan Pacha was entering the Argolic Gulf, when he encountered a galley of John Crispo, the Duke of Naxos, bearing to the Venetian Proveditor a letter, containing an intimation of the Sultan's designs.

The efforts of Barbarossa against the city were unavailing; and though the failure was not attributable to the advices of Crispo, the Turk resolved to remunerate him for his good intentions. He appeared before Naxos with a fleet of seventy sail, and the terrified Duke had no other resource than submission. He

* In 1522.

A. D.
1534. repaired on board the Ottoman galley, and surrendered the keys of the fortress, accompanied by a large douceur of gold and jewels. Barbarossa accepted the gifts, and handing the keys to his lieutenant, gave up the island to spoliation, whilst he reserved for himself the sacking of the ducal palace. During three days, the humiliated chieftain sat upon the deck of the plunderer's vessel, a witness to the destruction of his capital ; and at length, when nothing farther remained to destroy, Barbarossa consented to come to terms. John was reinstated as a vassal of the Porte, and his dominions restored on the terms of his contributing annually 6000 crowns to the coffers of the Sultan. He closed with this degrading proposal, and Barbarossa retired to plunder the islands, which remained as the appanages of the Sommarivas, Venieri, and other distant branches of the reigning family.

James, the twenty-first and last Duke of the Archipelago, succeeded to his father John, of whom I have just spoken. On mounting the throne of his miniature dominions, he found that he had merely attained to an inheritance of poverty. The Greeks, ever impatient of change, were wearied of so monotonous a line of masters as those who had governed them for the last 300 years. They

were turbulent, disaffected, and rebellious; and refusing to contribute in any way to the support of the Empire, the miserable Duke found himself placed at the head of a nominal dominion, without forces or funds, authority or friends. Aware of his desperate and friendless condition, he abandoned himself to despair; and instead of directing his energies to the retrieval of his affairs, drowned in dissipation those hours which he should have devoted to exertion. The licentiousness of the ruler naturally led to the corruption of his officers and the misery of his people; and from isle to isle of his dominion, all was anarchy, debauchery, and crime.

A. D.
1603.

The Greeks, at length driven to the last point of exasperation, sent a deputation to Selym II. the successor of Solyman, to complain of his enormities, and to solicit a change of masters. The infatuated Duke, though warned of the proceedings of his subjects, adopted no measures till it was too late to avert the coming storm; and it was only when the envoys of the islanders had actually set out for Constantinople, that he prepared to follow, in order to bribe the officers of the seraglio, and, if possible, appease his irritated vassals.

He arrived accordingly at the capital, armed with a purse of 12,000 crowns; but his tardy

A. D.
1503. exertions were in vain ; he was conveyed a prisoner to the Seven Towers,* and an answer was despatched to the Naxiots, intimating that the Sultan acceded to their wishes, that he had taken them under his own sublime protection, and would without delay send them as a governor, John Michez, a Jew, on whom he had conferred the possession of the islands.

This was an instance of the royal favour which the Greeks had neither wished for nor anticipated ; but it was in vain that they remonstrated, and implored to have their late beloved ruler again released to them ; Selym was resolute, and they were forced to submit in silence. Michez, however, was not by any means charmed with this premature manifestation of the affection of his subjects ; and alarmed at their avowed dislike to his person, refused to take possession of his domains : in consequence of which, Francesco Coronello, a Spanish gentleman, whose father had been governor of Segovia under Ferdinand and Isabella, was despatched as his deputy. The measures of this ruler soon restored tranquillity and gained the esteem of the islanders ; and James, being shortly after released from captivity, fled to Venice, and throwing himself on the mercy of the Senate, was supported for the remainder of his life at

* A.D. 1566.

the State's cost, in consideration of the antient services and alliance of his family.* Thus ended, after an existence of nearly 300 years, the Dukedom of Naxos;† and in a change of

A. D.
1803.

* After the death of Giacomo, Michez did not long retain his honours; his favour with Selym declined, he was deprived of his dukedom, the government of which the Sultan took into his own hands, and Coronello, retiring from office, settled at Naxos as an ordinary citizen. The Cyclades were now surveyed by the officers of the Porte, a census taken of the inhabitants, a tribute fixed, and Turkish governors appointed in each to collect it. This system, however, did not last long; and the Maltese galleys were the chief cause of its suspension. These descending on the detached islands, with their armed knights, made sad havoc amongst the Turks, whom they picked off their unprotected posts, and carried into slavery. The Porte in vain sought to suppress these aggressions; their enemies were too numerous and intrepid to be deterred or eradicated; and, after years of suffering, they were obliged to leave the islands independent, subject only to an annual tribute, and withdraw their governors, since no Moslem was found daring enough to reside in such perilous situations.—“The Greek islanders were thus mainly indebted to the Knights of Malta for the portion of liberty which they enjoyed, and to their ceaseless and fatal expeditions they owed their freedom from the presence of the Turks in the Archipelago, since it was only once a year that the Captain Pacha, accompanied by a force sufficient to awe the Knights, dared to pay his visits and receive the annual tribute.”—*Letters from the Ægean*, vol. 2, p. 176.

† The celebrated History and Genealogical Tables of Ducange exhibit an instance of labour and research almost unparalleled, and an accuracy which is generally above repre-

A. D. 1503. masters the Greeks had nothing to regret. The tenure of the Sanuti and their successors was one of mere feudal right; and their sole exertions during the period of their sovereignty, were directed to the retention of power, not the advancement of their people's happiness: they found the islands ignorant, debased, and corrupted, and they left them as they found; nor have the Cyclades inherited from the Dukes one institution of genius, or one monument of art.

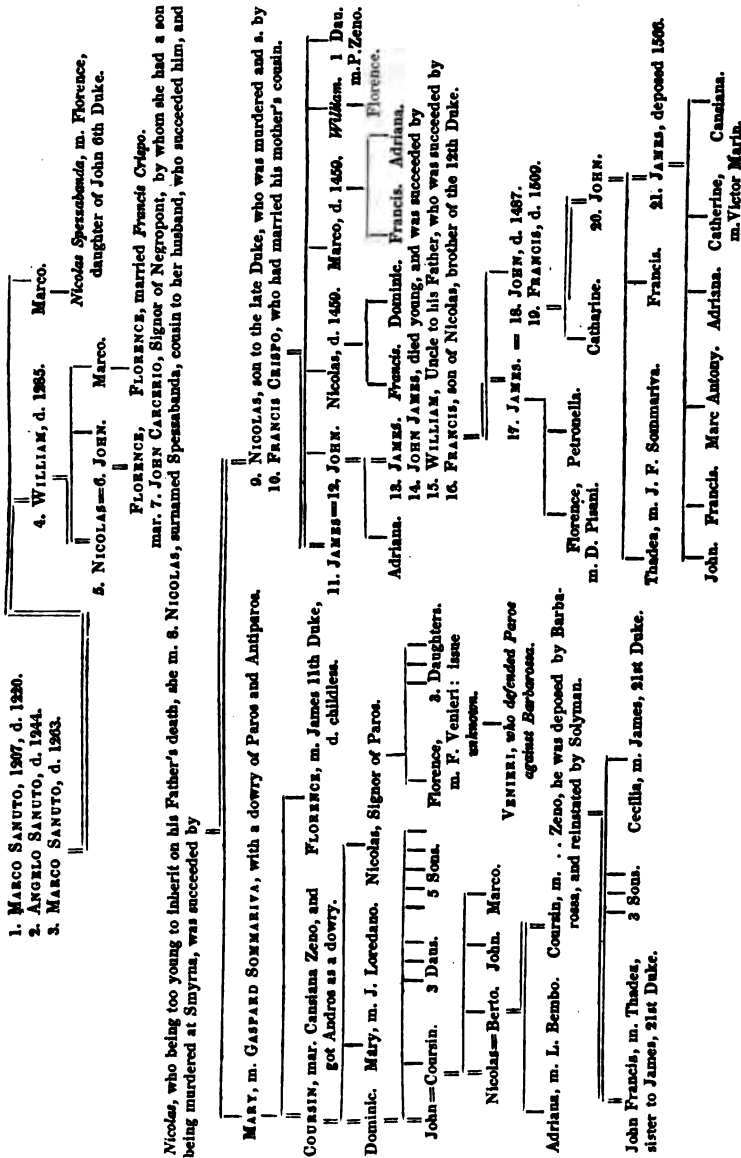
But to return; after the conquest of the islands by Barbarossa, Venice found herself unequal to maintain the struggle with the Porte, and a peace was concluded between them, in which the surrender of Napoli di Romania, and Monemvasia was made the purchase of tranquillity,* whilst the Cyclades and his other Hellenic conquests were firmly united to the

A. D. 1540.

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. x. p. 79, vol. xxiv. p. 242.

hension. In his account of the Dukes of Naxos, or as he denominates them, "Nicsia," he is, however, singularly deficient and incorrect. Of the twenty-one dukes, he enumerates but six, and even these in a confused order, making William, the fourth duke, succeed to Marco the first, and dating the reign of each a century too late, as Sanuto obtained his dominion in 1207, instead of 1307, as he has annalized him. I have prepared the following table, which is, I think, nearly complete, and though perhaps not very valuable in an historical point of view, is, at least, curious as supplying an omission of Ducange, and presenting a conspectus of the descent of these island chieftains.

dominions of Solyman.



A. D. 1540. During the residue of his reign, Greece suffered no changes from the arms or ambition of the Sultan, whose efforts were long concentrating for his formidable attack upon Malta, where the Knights of St. John had been established by Charles the Fifth, when driven by him from Rhodes, in A.D. 1522. Here, after a siege of four months, he was completely foiled and beaten off by the brave Hospitallers, and in the following year expired, leaving the throne of Constantinople to his only remaining son, Selym II. Immediately on his accession, the Venetians sent Marino Caballo as an ambassador, to solicit a continuance of that peace which had existed in the latter years of his father.* It was with some difficulty that Marino accomplished the object of his mission; but at length, by the force of gold, he surmounted every obstacle, and obtained a solemn renewal of the amicable treaty. The specious tranquillity was, however, of but short continuance, and Selym quickly took advantage of a temporary embarrassment of the Venetians to make fresh inroads on their diminished territories. Cyprus, from its contiguity to the coast of Karamania, had long attracted his cupidity; and during a moment of extreme

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxiv. p. 257.

perturbation and famine at Venice, when the Senate were unable to equip their fleet, he resolved on attacking the island.* The Doge, apprized of his intentions, hastened to solicit the alliance and aid of the Pope and the potentates of Christendom; but his efforts to arouse them proved ineffectual, and Selym, having in vain essayed the weapons of treachery and diplomacy, at length resorted to open war. By means of his general Mustapha, he invested the city of Nicosia, in the northern district of the island; whilst the precipitation of hostilities at last induced the Pope and Philip of Spain to join in a tardy and heartless league for the support of the Republic.† But their proffered friendship arrived too late, nor could their united efforts prove availing in retarding the overthrow of Cyprus. Nicosia and Famagosta successively fell into the hands of their besiegers, and the entire island was occupied by the Ottomans, whilst not a blow was struck by the allies in its defence.

A.D.
1566.A.D.
1571.

In the mean time, ere yet the fate of Cyprus was determined, Selym had commenced an

* For an account of the manner in which Cyprus came into the possession of Venice, see Knolles' History of the Turks, vol. i. and Paruta, *Historia Venetiana*, lib. i.

† May 24, 1571.

A. D.
1671. attack upon another point, and landed 12,000 men at Amphimalæa,* on the northern coast of the island of Candia.† Hence, they directed their march towards the cities of Canea and Retimo, which were the principal posts of the Venetians, sacking in their route the villages of the peasantry, and driving off or destroying the flocks and property of the inhabitants.‡

The garrison of the cities was, however, united with the crew of a Genoese vessel, under the command of a Colonel Giustiniano; the enemy were assaulted with equal promptitude and vigour, and finally driven by the triumphant Venetians to their galleys. Thus repulsed, they took their course towards the Morea, and attacked the islands of Cerigo, Zante, and Cephalonia, and carried off 6000 of the Christian inhabitants, who were sent into slavery to Constantinople. They next steered for the coast of Albania; and the remainder of the summer was spent in ravaging the possessions of the Venetians from Durazzo to the Gulf of Lepanto, where they finally

* Now Suda.

† Knolles, vol. i. p. 587.—“Essendo dunque l'armata Turchesca già tutta unita, nella quale si ritrovavano intorno a *ducento e cinquanta vele* si drizzò insieme all' isola di Candia, ove giunta entrò nel porta della Suda,” &c. &c.—*Paruta*, Hist. della Guerra di Cipro, lib. ii. p. 181.

‡ Ibid.

came to a halt, whilst awaiting fresh orders and supplies from the Sultan. Affairs had now become so alarming, that the tardy princes of Europe were aroused to energy; a general rendezvous of the fleets of Spain and the Pope, with those of the Venetians, was appointed at Messina; and Veniero, the admiral of the Republic, who had been waiting in inactivity at Corfu, sailed to meet them. At length, towards the close of autumn, Don John of Austria, son of Charles V. and brother to Philip II. of Spain, arrived in Sicily with 22,000 foot, a numerous artillery, ninety galleys, and two-and-twenty transports. They were quickly joined by Colonna, the commander of the Papal fleet, and after numerous broils and frivolous delays, they sailed to meet the Turks, and bring the impending struggle to an issue.

It was in the afternoon of the 7th of October, 1571,* that the hostile armaments encountered each other in the entrance to the Gulf of Lepanto. The engagement was entered upon with equal animation on both sides, since each

* "Nel mille cinque cento e settanta uno,

• • • •
A gli sette di Ottobre la mattina
Della Vergine e martire Giustina."

From an anonymous poetical description of the battle, in the British Museum, without date or "imprimatur."

A. D.
1671. entertained the false opinion that his adversary was not disposed for battle,* and that glorious success was to be the honourable meed of an easy contest. The two fleets met off the Curzolari islands, and the morning was spent in mutual arrangements for action: the Turks, all energy and eagerness to commence; and the leaders of the League, though panting for victory, still anxious to delay the trial for a little, on account of the wind, which blew from a point highly unfavourable to the advantageous manœuvring of their vessels. At length, the decisive moment arrived; the wind suddenly chopped round to the desired point, and almost at the same instant the fire was opened from the batteries of either fleet, whilst the din of battle and the horrors of the fight were heightened by the hideous yells with which the Turks commenced the onset. For many hours, “diverse
“and doubtful was the whole face of the battle;
“as fortune offered unto every man his enemy,
“so he fought; according as every man’s disposition put him into courage or fear, or as he met
“with more or fewer enemies, so was there here
“and there sometimes victory, and sometimes
“loss. The chance of war in one place lifteth
“up the vanquished, and in another overthroweth the victorious; all was full of terror,

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxiv.

"error, sorrow, and confusion."* For five hours the doubtful conflict was pursued with equal vigour, but at length the Turks began to yield: they ceased to attack the galleys of the League, and acted solely on the defensive; whilst the Christians, following up their advantage, compelled the remnant of those who had escaped the fray to wear round, and retreat within the Gulf of Lepanto, or seek security in more distant flight. The triumph of the allies was complete; one hundred and thirty galleys of the enemy were taken, whilst the remainder were dashed upon the rocks, in their confusion, swallowed by the sea, or destroyed by fire, with the exception of thirty which escaped, and succeeded in reaching Constantinople. Twenty-five thousand Turks fell in the action, amongst whom were the two admirals, and numberless officers of distinction; many were drowned, and about 3500 were taken prisoners by the conquerors.† On the

A. D.
1571.

* Knolles, vol. i. p. 596.

† The battle of Lepanto has afforded a subject for one of the most beautiful of the Odes of Herrera—that commencing with

" Cuando con resonante
Rayo e furor d' el brazo impetuoso,"
&c. &c. ‡

And the same Author has supplied us with by far the best account of the action, which I have seen, namely, *Relacion*

‡ Versos de Ferdinando de Herrera, Libr. ii. cancion. 1.

A.D. side of the confederates, fifteen galleys were lost,
1571. of which ten were Venetian; and about ten thou-

della guerra di Cipre y successo de la Batalla di Lepanto.
Seville, 1572.

With these the reader is no doubt familiar, but the little Italian poem which I have just cited from the British Museum, is not, perhaps, quite so well known. It is curious as being one of the popular ballads of Venice in the sixteenth century, and in style varies not much from those of our own country at the present day. It appears to have been printed very shortly after the action, but contains neither the date of publication nor the name of the author. Its statements possess but little poetry; but the minutiae of the battle, the dates, number of ships, and lists of killed and wounded, are given with the accuracy of a bulletin, in *form*, though evidently exaggerated in detail.

Gran battaglia crudel e spauentosa,
E grandissima strage ne seguia,
Tra l'una e l'altra parte sanguinosa
Si vedea l'acqua d'ogn' intorno via,
E era la vittoria ancor dubiosa
Ch' ogn' un arditamente combattia,
Che in tal impresa non si puol fuggire,
Lui conuien ho vincer ho morire.

Tanti morti e ferite, e tanto sangue
Fu sparso alhor sopra quell' onde salse,
Che vn cuor di tigre ouer pestifer angue
A pietà moveria sue voglie false:
Chi è ferito, chi è morto, e chi si langue,
Quiui pietà no amicitia prevalse,
Quiui ognun onde al suo particolare
Perchè come uno è morto egli è del mare.

sand men perished in the fight, or died of the ^{A. D.}
wounds they had received.* This was the first ^{1871.}

Durò tre ore la crudel baruffa
Con archibugi, e fuochi artificate
Frezze pignate e sassi che in la zuffa
Da le gabie de gli alberi gettati :
E con tal ardimento ogn' un s'azzuffa
Che non ui si scorgea d'alcun de i lati
Nulla avantaggio, ma assai perigliosa
Ad ambi la vittoria era dubbiosa.

Ma 'l continuo sparar del furibondo
Metal, fuori del qual con furia uscea
Balle, sassi e catene, tal che affondo
Mandò in un ponto più d'una gallea,
Parea ch' 'l fumo soffocasse il modea,†
Che l'un col altro più non si vedea
Doue che la vittoria ad inchinarsi
Cominciò a noi, e loro in fuga darsi.

* * * * *

A quatro ore del giorno, la battaglia
Cominciò fieramente ad azzufarsi,
E alle sette la crudel canaglia
Cominciò pur aliquanto ritirarsi,
E la vittoria con gran possa e vaglia
Per gli Christiani cominciò a inchinarsi,
La qual con valorose e estreme botte
Fu sequitata fino a mezza notte.

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 420. Paruta, lib. ii.

† Qu.? *mondo*.

A. D. 1671. grand check which had been inflicted on the Ottomans by any European power; and the favourable moment was now arrived for the

Affondando gallere e vccidendo
 Gli gran nimici de la fè Christiana,
 E seguitando quei che gia fuggendo
 Facea la speme lor rimaner vana
 Abbrugiandoli i legni, constupendo
 Spettacol della fetta Maumetana
 I quai sol nel fuggir prendea consorti
 E l' mar sol era pien de corpi morti.

Quaranta mille Turchi vccisi furo
 E cinquanta galere messe al fondo,
 Gli prigionj non han numer sicuro,
 Ma tanti son che non han fin nè fondo.
 Quindeci millia schiaui che dal duro
 Fero, erano in catena, con giocondo
 Viso sopra l'armata son trovati,
 Che fur subitamente scatenati.

Cento e quaranta de le sue galere
 Fur prese senza mal e senza danno,
 E quaranta cinqn' altre, tutte intiere,
 Ma da l' artegliarie percosse stanno
 Le botte del le qual non son si fiere,
 Che facilmente si commoderanno
 E le Turchesce insegne, tante sono
 Che per hora sapere non si ponno.

Successo della felice Vittoria de l'Armata della Santissima
 Lega contra la Turchesa, in Bib. Mussei Brittannici.

Christians to pursue their advantages, and achieve the liberation of Greece.* The following day, however, a storm having driven the fleets to anchor, a council of war was held, in which it was resolved, that, in consequence of

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* It was in this engagement, that the author of Don Quixote lost his left arm, whilst fighting in the squadron of Marc Antonio Colonna, the Pope's Admiral. He had been living as secretary to the Cardinal Aquaviva, at Rome,† at the time of the signing of the League, and hastened, with many others, to join the standard of the Cross; and, from his frequent reference to it in his subsequent works, seems to have considered it as one of the most splendid incidents of his life.‡ See Smollett's Life of Cervantes, prefixed to his translation of Don Quixote, and the story of the "Captive," in the 2nd vol. part i. book iv. cap. 12, of Don Quixote.

† "Juntando à esto el efeto de reverencia que hacían en mi animo las cosas, que como en profecia oi muchas veces decir de V. S. J., al Cardenal de Aquaviva, *siendo yo sa camarero en Roma.*"—Dedication of Cervantes' Galatea, p. viii.

‡ In the Introduction to the Second Part of Don Quixote, Cervantes, in speaking of Tordesillas (who had, a short time before, published a spurious continuation of the work, in which he had abused the real author,) says, "Then he reflectingly tells me of the loss of one of my hands, as if that maim had been got in a scandalous or drunken quarrel in some tavern, and not upon the most memorable occasion, that either past or present ages have beheld, (the battle of Lepanto) and which, perhaps, futurity will never parallel."—Don Quixote, vol. iii. p. 124. Edinb. 1822.

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1571. the lateness of the season, the deficiency of provisions, and the number of killed and wounded, the vessels should be laid up till the ensuing season, when fresh strength could be accumulated to prosecute that course of conquest which they had so gloriously begun. Some patriotic individuals were found to oppose this disgraceful measure, but the voice of the majority was raised in its favour. The allied hosts were quickly dispersed; the victors returned to luxury and ease; the golden opportunity was lost; the tide that would have borne them on to fortune was suffered to ebb unvalued; and the interval devoted by Venice to enjoyment, was occupied by Selym in that active recruitment of his forces, which soon raised him to his wonted superiority.

In the course of the following year, he was enabled to take the sea with a fleet of 220 sail,* under the command of Uchali, the officer under whose care the thirty galleys which had escaped from Lepanto had reached Constantinople. The navies of the Pope and the Republic sailed to oppose them, but Don John declined again entering into the coalition during the unsettled state of affairs between France and the Spanish court. At last, however, he was brought to an unwilling acquies-

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxiv. p. 299.

cence; but perpetual disappointments so harassed the Venetians, that instead of improving the various opportunities which fortune threw in their way, they finally resolved to abandon farther hostilities against the Porte, and sue for peace. Selym was at the moment engaged in preparations for a descent upon the northern shores of Africa, and of course readily complied with the prayer of the Ambassador of Venice. He was, however, too well aware of the disunion which reigned in the councils of the allies, to treat upon moderate terms; his demands were rather those of a haughty conqueror than a lately vanquished foe, and the Senate were too conscious of his absolute superiority, and their own unbefriended weakness, to resist his proposals. He stipulated for the unconditional abandonment of all claims upon the kingdom of Cyprus; it was granted: he demanded the surrender of some important fortresses in Epirus and Dalmatia, and Venice was too weak to refuse even this unreasonable purchase of tranquillity. The treaty was concluded, and Selym pursued his course towards Africa, whilst the Republic applied itself to strengthen Candia, which it was evident that the period was fast approaching when she must prepare to surrender.

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1671.A. D.
1673.

* Mod. Univ. Hist. Knolles, vol. i. p. 612.

CHAPTER VII.

From the Battle of Lepanto to the Peace of Carlowitz, when
Greece was ceded to Venice. A. D. 1571—1699.

A. D.
1571.

SINCE the overthrow of Bajazet, the power of the Ottomans had met with no stroke so calamitous as that of the battle of Lepanto; but the bane was accompanied by its antidote, and the subsequent weakness of Venice and apathy of Europe, the timid treachery of the court of Spain, and the separation of the allied fleets, served to neutralize the deleterious effects of a measure so ruinous. Venice, in fact, with all her specious triumph, issued from the war, on by far the most disastrous footing; she had signed away the most fertile and wealthy islands of the Levant, and her influence in the Morea was extinguished by a disgraceful peace. A contemporary, in comparing the respective losses of the two belligerents, remarked, that the destruction of the Turkish fleet was merely

depriving the Sultan of his *beard*, which a few months must restore, but the loss of Cyprus was the amputation of an *arm* from Venice, which time could neither remedy nor reproduce.* From the hour when peace was concluded, Greece became virtually amalgamated with the dominions of Selym; and for nearly one hundred years, the rights and authority of the Porte were unattacked by the Venetians, and undisputed by the inhabitants of the subjugated province. Of the mode of administration adopted by the Divan towards Greece and the Morea, we have been furnished with but few early documents, since for upwards of a century they seemed alike forgotten by Europe, and unheeded by the historians of Constantinople. From two geographical works, however, published in Venice in 1687,† it appears that the Peninsula was governed by a Sangiac, with the title of Mora-Bey, under the jurisdiction of the Beglerbeg of Greece, and that his residence was at

A. D.
1674.

* I cannot at present recollect the author of this pithy allusion.

† “*Esata Notitia del Peloponeso, volgarmente, Penisola della Morea, divisa in otto provincie, descritte geograficamente, &c. &c. con sue istorie e acquisti fatti dalla Serenissima republica di Venetia, dall’ anno 1684 sino al dì presente. In Venetia, 1687.*”

“*Memorie Istorio-geografiche della Morea riacquistata dall’ armi Venete, &c. In Venezia, 1687.*”

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1574. **Modon, in Messenia.*** His command extended over the prefects, or *Codgia-bachis*, of the eight minor districts into which the Morea was subdivided;† and his revenue of seven hundred thousand aspers was furnished him from the *Sangiacate*, on the terms of his keeping in constant readiness a thousand horses for the use of the *Begler-beg*.

With regard to the topographical condition of the country, about this period one of the earliest

* “Con titolo di Sangiacco, resiede quivi al governo Ministro di qualità e stima, chiamato altrimenti Mora-begi, che significa Signore della Morea. . . . Il luogo particolare in cui hà determinata residenza detto Sangiacco è la città di Modon.”—*Memorie*, &c. p. 9.

† The map accompanying both works is divided into four districts, namely, that of *Clarenza*, which comprises Elis and the north-western promontory; *Sacania* or *Romania*, including the Argolis and Sicyon; *Tzaconia* (Laconia) or *Braccio di Maina*, which stretched from Arcadia to Cape St. Angelo; and *Belvidere*, which was composed of Pylos and Messenia. These, however, may be rather the geographical than political divisions, and the “*Esata Notitia*” distinctly enumerates in its text the eight “provincie” mentioned in its title. “Le provincie dunque sono otto senza dubietà, cioè, Corinthia; Argia (o Romania, altri Sacania;) Laconia o Tzaconia; Messenia o Belvidere; Elide; Achaia o Chiarenza; Sicionide e Arcadia, governate da diversi Commandanti Turchi,” &c. &c.—*Esata Notitia*, p. 11.

The “*Esata Notitia*” states the income of the Mora-bey to have been 700,000 aspers; the “*Memorie*” only 100,000. I have adopted the former as the more probable, since an asper

accounts which we have, is that of Gerbelius, ^{A. D. 1574.} or Nicolas Gerbel, in his *Prefatio in Descriptionem Græciæ Sophiani*, published at Basle, in 1550. Here, in speaking of the situation of Athens he introduces the following eloquent and energetic apostrophe:—

“Æneas Sylvius Athenas hodie parvi oppiduli speciem gerere dicit, cujus munitissimam adhuc arcem Florentinus quidam Mahometi tradiderit. Ut nimis verè Ovidius dixerit,

‘*Quid Pandionix restant nisi nomen Athenæ?*’

O rerum humanarum miserabiles vices : o tragicam humanæ potentiæ permutationem ! Civitas olim muris, navalibus, ædificiis, armis, opibus, viris, prudentia atque omni sapientia florentissima, in oppidulum, seu potius vicum redacta

is only about a farthing of our money, thus making his situation worth above 730*l.* sterling annually.—*Memorie*, p. 10 ; *Esata Notitia*, p. 11.

The author of the “*Memorie*,” &c. copied, in all likelihood, his statement from the *Voyage of Beauveau* published in 1619, who visited Modon, and says, that “Il fut anciennement appelée Methone, et est aujourd’huy le demeure du Sâgiac de Morée, que les Turcs nomment aussi Mora-begi. Son revenue et appointement annuel est de 700 mil aspers, qui font mil escus. C’est un de plus puissants e auctorisés d’entre les Sâgiacs : car au première mandement du Begler-beg de Grèce, il fournist mil Cavalliers qu’il nourrist et entretient à ses despens.”—p. 21. This account of the Sangiac’s revenue concurs with what I have said above.

A. D. 1574. est; olim libera, et suis legibus vivens, nunc immanissimis belluis servitutis jugo obstricta. Proficiscere Athenas, et pro magnificentissimis operibus videto rudera, et lamentabiles ruinas. Noli, noli nimium fidere viribus tuis, sed in eum confidito, qui dicit, Ego Dominus Deus Vester!"—p. 21.

To the work of Gerbel succeeded, in 1554, the *Cartes Cosmographiques et Plantx de Villes*, &c. published at Lyons by Antoine du Pinet, who says, in speaking of Greece :

"Touchant les villes de terre firme dependentes de la dite Duché (of Athens) y a Enone et le Chasteau de Setine relique de la grande et tante renomè cite d'Athenes, chef jadis non seulement de toute la Grèce et de la Morée, mais aussi de plusieurs nations etranges, &c.
* * * Et maintenant, o Dieu ! il n'y a de reste qu'un petit chasteau et un bourgade qui n'est mesme assurée des renards et des loups ny des autres bestes sauvages."—p. 230.

These accounts are corroborated by that of Laurenberg, who, in his *Description d'Athenes*, (A. D. 1557) exclaims,

"Fuit quondam Græcia, fuerunt Athenæ; nunc neque in Græcia Athenæ, neque in ipsa Græciâ Græcia est."

And Ortelius, a geographer of the same century, almost transcribes the words of Gerbel,

asserting that Athens then consisted of merely a few miserable huts.* A. D.
1674.

Such are the sole disjointed and melancholy accounts which, up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, had made their way to Europe, respecting the faded capital of Greece; and such the imperfect information then existent regarding the fate of the former mistress of arts, civilization, and liberty. The first extensive or satisfactory details were at length given to the world by a learned Hellenist, who has in some degree remedied the deficiency of native historians, and furnished us with a picture of Greece at this gloomy period equally interesting in its material, unique in its existence, and valuable from its historical research—I refer to the *Turco-Græcia* of Martin Kraus.† Its author, a celebrated and an eminent philologist, was born at Grebern, in the Bishopric of Bamberg, in 1526, and in 1559 was nominated to the vacant chair of moral philosophy and Greek, in the University of

* “Nunc tantum casulæ supersunt quædam; locus Satine hodie dicitur.”—*Thesaurus Geographicus*, art. Athenæ, A. D. 1578.

† “*Turco-Græcia* libri Octo, a Martino Crusio, in Academia Tybingensi Græco et Latino Professore, utrâque lingua edita, quibus Græcorum Status sub imperio Turcico, de politia et ecclesia, œconomia et scholis, jam inde ab amissa Constantinopoli ad hæc usque tempora, luculenter describitur,” &c.—Basilæ, 1584.

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1574. Tubingen, in which situation he expired in 1607, at the advanced age of eighty-one. Kraus had himself no opportunity of visiting the country in person ; but the dedication of his book to the brothers William, Louis, and George, Landgraves of Hesse, and Counts of Cattenelnbogen, contains an account of its compilation, by which it appears that a young man, named Stephen Gerlachius, was about to travel, at the expense of the University, to Constantinople, and that Martin took that opportunity of writing to the Patriarch, and the other most distinguished Greeks of the period, requesting information as to the political, ecclesiastical, topographical, and intellectual situation of Modern Greece. His volume contains the letters which he received in reply ; a history of the Ottoman Empire, and Greece in particular, from the conquest of Constantinople to the year 1578, by Theodosius Zygomala, a native of Argos or of Napoli di Romania, and Prothonotary* to the Patriarch ; a sketch of the succession of the Greek Church, by Manuel Malaxus ; a Romaic version of Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*, and some other documents of minor importance, written in Modern Greek.

Almost the whole of these communications, though all furnished by Greeks, seem to treat

* For an explanation of this office see the head of *Secular Clergy* in a subsequent chapter.

of a matter in which they found but little interest, and with which their authors acknowledge themselves but partially acquainted. Throughout the volume no open charges of a political nature are advanced against the Government of Turkey, fear of the consequences having probably prevented freedom of discussion; but occasionally some strong circumstances are adduced from which we can infer that their subjection was enforced by tyranny, and their misery aggravated by exaction. All concur, too, in the same tale of abject poverty* and gloomy ignorance,† and represent the Greeks of that period as possessed of all the acuteness observable in their successors of to-day, but totally devoid of either the means or the opportunity of cultivating their talents. Zygomala, in one of his most interesting letters, mentions that, in general, their poverty was too great to permit them to devote that time to study which they were forced to spend in labouring for the necessities of life, but wherever they were placed in a situation to receive mental culture, their advancement was always commensurate to their hereditary reputation.‡

* Turco-Græcia, lib. vii. p. 449-480.

† Ibid. p. 485, note.

‡ Τὸ δὲ αἴτιον, (of their ignorance) αἱ κακώσεις, καὶ αἱ συζητήσεις τῶν τυραννούντων δειναί, πλὴν δεκτικώτατοί εἰσιν οἱ τοῖς τοιούτοις τόποις ἐνοικούντες, ὅτε διδασκάλου τύχῳσι τῶν μαθημάτων λαμβάνειν.—p. 94.

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It would seem from the account of the same correspondent, that, at this period, there was but one school for the tuition of ancient Greek throughout the country, and this was at Napoli di Romania. A seminary* had, however,

* Under the patronage of Pope Gregory XIII. Another important seminary of a similar kind was the *Gymnasium* founded by Leo X. in the early part of the sixteenth century. Its institution was principally owing to the influence of John, the son of Theodore Lascaris, a Greek, who on the capture of Constantinople, in 1453, had retired to Italy, when the kindness of the Cardinal Bessarion enabled him to educate his son at the University of Padua, and the talents and learning of the latter subsequently recommended him to the notice of Lorenzo the Magnificent. By him he was entrusted with the charge of the Medicean Library at Florence, and in the course of his connexion with Lorenzo, he was twice despatched into Greece for the purpose of collecting such manuscripts, and other literary relics, as had escaped the ravages of Mahomet and the Turks. (Roscoe's *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* vol. ii. c. xi. Mill's *Travels of Theodore Ducas*, vol. i. *Hodius de Græcis Illus.* p. 249. Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, c. vii.) In these two journeys he succeeded in amassing upwards of two hundred MSS. from Mount Athos and other retired spots, to which the Greeks had withdrawn in order to escape the fury of the Ottomans. During his second expedition, he had the misfortune to lose his early patron by the death of Lorenzo; but Charles VIII. having invited him to Paris, he was shortly after appointed Ambassador to Venice, by his successor Louis XII. From that period, up to the accession of the Cardinal Giovanni, the son of Lorenzo, to the papal chair under the title of Leo X. he continued

existed for some time at Rome for the education of the young Grecians; and here, almost

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to reside uninterruptedly at Venice. On the elevation of Leo, however, he wrote him a letter of congratulation, and immediately repaired to visit him at the Vatican. Here he developed to the Pope his views for the encouragement of the growing taste for ancient learning; and by his advice, Leo resolved on inviting a number of young and noble Greeks to repair to Rome, where their education was to be superintended by Lascaris and his friend Marcus Musurus, a Cretan, who, at the period of Leo's elevation, was a professor at Venice.*

A letter addressed by Leo to this distinguished Hellenist will sufficiently explain his views:—

LEO X. TO MARCUS MUSURUS.†

“Having a most earnest desire to promote the study of the Greek tongue, and of Grecian literature, which are now almost extinct, and to encourage the liberal arts as far as lies in my power, and being well convinced of your great learning and singular judgment, I request that you will take the trouble of inviting from Greece ten young men, or as many more as you may think proper, of good education and virtuous disposition; who may compose a seminary of liberal studies, and from whom the Italians may derive the proper use and knowledge of the Greek tongue. On this subject, you will be more fully instructed by Giovanni Lascar, whose virtues and learning have deservedly rendered him dear to me. I have a confidence also, that from the respect and kindness which you have already shown me, you will apply with the utmost diligence to effect what may seem to you

* Roscoe's Leo X. vol. ii. c. xi.

† Bembo, Epist. in nom. Leon. X. lib. iv. Ep. 8.

A. D. without exception, they had distinguished
1574. themselves by rapid proficiency and sterling

to be necessary, for accomplishing the purposes which I have in view."

Dated viii Id. Aug. 1513.*

In pursuance of this intention, Leo purchased from the Cardinal of Sion his residence on the Esquiline hill,† which was converted into an academy for the study of Grecian literature, and Lascaris, with a liberal pension, undertook its superintendence.

The Greek College at Rome is alluded to by all the Italian writers of the commencement of the sixteenth century.‡ Beroaldo the younger, in his address to Leo, and prefixed to his edition of Tacitus, says, "Tu vero qui utramque linguam optime calles, ad perfectam eruditionem, literarum Græcarum cognitionem sciebas esse pernecessariam, eodem Lascare auctore, ipsam propemodum Græciam in Italiam quasi in novam coloniam deduxisti. Pueros n. ex tota Græcia in quibus vis ingenii et bona indoles inesse videbatur, cum suis preceptoribus Romam evocasti, ut et linguam ipsis nostram commodius nos traderemus, suamque illi nobis liberalius impartirent: ac per hoc seminarium utriusque gentis literæ altioribus radicibus innixæ transferri ac latius propagari possent."

And Musurus, in his preface to Pausanias, published by Aldo, in 1516, has the following passage:—

Ὡς γὰρ μὴ πανταπασιν ἀποσβεσθῇ τὸ σωζόμενον ἐν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων καί περ λίαν ἀμυδρὸν ὄν, ὃν ὀλίγους ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἐκ τῆς Κορκύρας καὶ τῶν παραθαλασσίαν τῆς Πελοποννήσου μετεπεμψαὶ νεανίσκους· τῶν μὴτε φύσιν ἀγεννῶν μὴδ' ὑπὸ χράσματος

* Fabron. in vita Leon. p. 68.

† Mill, Theo. Ducas, vol. i. p. 350.

‡ See Roscoe's Leo X.

genius.* At this period the corruption of their language, too, seemed complete, and the specimens furnished by Kraus, and his contemporaries, contain precisely the same barbarisms and anomalies inherent in the Romaic of to-day. Those portions of the work which refer to the state of the language, though amongst the most valuable, are at the same time occasionally highly ludicrous; and one can

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καὶ ναυρότης ἐκπαρκαμένων, ἀλλ' ἀγχινία τε περισήμων καὶ τὸ ταλαίπωρον ἔχονταν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ· οἱ νῦν ἐν Ρώμῃ μῆτε σφῆς μὴδ' ἱματισμοῦ μῆτε τροφῆς ἀπορῶντες, μῆτε σοφιστῶν ἑστειρημένοι· τῶν διδάσκων καὶ βυλομένων καὶ εἰδόντων, θαυμαστῶν ὅσον περὶ ἀμφοῦ προκόπτουσι τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ πάντ' ἀριεὺ καὶ μεγίστη Ρώμης ἀρχιερίως ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ χορηγῶντος.

Thus, likewise, Vida, in enumerating the services rendered to literature by the family of the Medici :

" Illi etiam Graiae miserati incommoda gentis,
Ne Danaûm penitus caderet cum nomine virtus,
In Latium advectos juvenes, juvenumque magistros,
Argolicas artes quibus esset cura tueri,
Securos musas jussere atque otia amare."

Poeticor. lib. i. v. 196.

* Page 94. Kraus quotes a vulgar proverb at this period applied by the Greeks to themselves, and explanatory of their proficiency in various accomplishments of manners and gallantry.

Ελληνας ὅτην τραπέζαν
Ελληνας ὅτην θάλασσαν
Ελληνας καλὸς ναύτης
Καλὸς τῆς νυχθὸς τὴν στρώμαν
Μαχαίραν καὶ σκυρτάριν.—p. 209.

A. D. 1874. scarcely suppress a smile to find one of those philological patriots, who pen the information, pass over with slight regret the fallen state of Athens, and of Thebes, and exclaim with a burst of indignation against the stupidity of a people, who can call *οἱ λαοί*, instead of *Ἕλληνες*, and *Athens* *ῶστις*, in lieu of *εἰς Ἀθῆνας*!* Symeon Cabasyllas, another informant of Kraus, states, that at this period upwards of seventy dialects existed throughout Greece and the islands; and that of all, the Athenian was the most corrupted (*περὶ δὲ τῶν διαλέκτων, τί αὖ καὶ ἔχοιμι, πολλῶν οὐσῶν, καὶ διαφορῶν ὑπερ τῶν ἐβδόμηκοντα; Τούτων δ' ἀπασῶν, ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ χεῖριστή.*—lib. vii. p. 461.) So great, however, was the similarity which prevailed, that he who understood one could readily comprehend the remainder (ib. p. 462); and in the retired points of Thessaly and the Morea, he observes, that there were still found some who spoke, in all its purity, the language of their forefathers.†

As to the topographical situation of Greece at this moment, the information of Kraus is by no means explicit. Zygomala, his principal contributor, speaks but in general terms; and

* P. 95. Lib. viii. p. 517.

† For an able and interesting essay on the history and philology of the Modern Greek language, the reader is referred to Colonel Leake's "Researches in Greece," 4to. London, 1814.

states, that some cities had totally disappeared, whilst others, such as Heraclæa and Athens, survived but in their ruins; and a new succession, Thessalonica, Napoli di Romania, Navarino, and some others, had either risen to eminence on the overthrow of their predecessors, or been created by the enterprise of the modern inhabitants.*

“Athens, (says Zygomala, lib. vii. p. 480) for I have visited it, being, as you know, a native of Nauplia, (Napoli di Romania) which is not far distant from the ancient city, still contains † many of its splendid monuments, such as the Areopagus, the old Academies, the Lycæum of Aristotle, and the grand Pantheon, (the Parthenon?) which is, of all existing edifices, the most excellent, being covered externally with the sculptured history of the former Greeks; and amongst others, we can there behold, above the grand entrance, two horses, said to have been the work of Praxiteles, ‡ which so closely resemble nature, that they seem snort-

* Page 98. Navarino was built by the Turks, in 1572. (“Sopra il porto vedesi il nuovo Navarino qual fu fabricato da Turchi l’anno 1572,” &c. *Esata Notitia*, p. 63.) Tripolizza appears to have been of a much later date, as it does not occur in any of the Venetian maps I have consulted.

† Nov. 15, 1575.

‡ This, of course, is an error, though adopted by some of the immediate followers of Kraus.

A.D. 1874. ing for human flesh (*φρυσισσομένους ἀνδρόμετα· εἰς σάρκα.*) But why do I dwell upon Athens? it remains to-day nothing more than the skin of an animal long since dead.* Cabasyllas, whom I have already quoted, writes about the same time, "that Athens was divided into three quarters; one (in which is included the Acropolis, and the temple To THE UNKNOWN GOD,) is inhabited solely by Jews and Mahometans, a second by the Christians, and the third is choked up with ruins.† The circumference of the ancient city was two hundred stadia, it is not now above one-fourth of that dimension;‡ and its once crowded population

* This simile seems to be public property among the lower historians. (Vide Synesius, *supra*.)

† Lib. vii. p. 461.

‡ Another author, who had visited Athens a short time previous to the correspondents of Kraus, namely, in 1554, confirms his statements as to its dilapidation. "Or est Athens maintenant ruinée, et y voir ont encores à present belles antiquitez, et choses qui ont esté autrefois de grand excellence, qui encore rejouissent et recréent ceux qui de près les contemplent. * * * "

Outre cela (a statue of a child which he describes) je n'y ai veu chose qui merite le descire. Vray est qu'il y a quelques colonnes et obelisques: mais elles tombent toutes en ruine, aussi quelques apparences de plusieurs collèges, où (selon la comune opinion des habitans du lieu) Platon lisoit, faits en forme du Colisée Romain. Or est ceste cité habitée des Turqs, Grecs, et Juifs, qui ont peu desgard et de

is reduced to a miserable remnant of 12,000 inhabitants." Of these a tribute was annually paid to the Porte of a certain number of boys, and the remainder acquired a wretched subsistence by fishing in the Gulf of Salamis, or cultivating the olive-groves on the banks of the deserted Ilyssus.* Such is the imperfect, but, at the same time, the only authentic account which we possess of the situation of Greece, from the conclusion of the sixteenth, to the commencement of the seventeenth century.

A. D.
1640.

It is foreign to my purpose to pursue the annals of the Ottoman empire through the reign of the six succeeding Sultans who bore the imperial sceptre from the decease of Selym II. to the accession of Ibrahim, in 1640. Their exploits bear but slight reference to the affairs of the Morea or the North, and their arms were chiefly directed against the monarchs of Persia, or the growing power of the Austrians and their northern neighbours. They had long since possessed themselves of all the islands of the Archipelago; the Grecian continent was

reverence à telles memorables antiquailles."—*Cosmographie de Levant*, par F. A. Thenet, d'Angoulesme. Lyon, 1554, p. 93.

* Turco-Græcia, lib. i. 95.—Of this tribute, which is mentioned by Meursius (*Fortuna Attica*, p. 112) on the authority of Antonio Eparch of Corfu, a more detailed account shall be given presently.

A. D. 1640. their own; and the island of Candia alone* remained to tempt their ambition and provoke their arms. External quarrels had, however, too eagerly occupied their minds to permit them to direct their energies to its subjection; but an opportunity was not long wanting, as soon as Ibrahim found himself at leisure to attempt the conquest, and a piracy committed by some Maltese corsairs, who subsequently took refuge in Candia, opened the way for the commencement of hostilities. The Kislär Aga, or chief of the eunuchs, having obtained from the Sultan his freedom and the usual pension of eight thousand paras per diem, was proceeding towards Egypt, together with the Molla of Prusa and the Cadi of Mecca, when off the coast of Crete they were surprised by the Maltese:† the Turks made a gallant defence, but their commander being slain, they were taken prisoners, and together with their property, carried into the Port of Kalismene,‡ whence the corsairs, having bribed the governor, were permitted to refit and retire with their spoil.§ In the former

* Cantemir, p. 252.

† See *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. xxiv. p. 332, where the account varies triflingly.

‡ Sir P. Rycault, vol. ii. p. 56.

§ Such is the explanation given by Cantemir of the origin of the Cretan war, p. 254; but a little work containing an account of the siege, and printed in London one year after

treaty of peace between the Porte and the Republic, in 1574, it had been expressly stipulated that no shelter was to be afforded to the Knights of Malta in any of the eastern ports or harbours belonging to Venice: the present occasion, therefore, was one which afforded double cause for exasperation; and without farther delay the Turks prepared for war. An angry representation was first made to the Venetian Bailo at Constantinople; but he having repelled the charge of participation from his countrymen, and clearly shown that the port where the Maltese had anchored contained neither fort nor garrison, the Sultan was forced to conceal his designs, and assert that his preparations were solely directed against the Knights of Malta. The policy of the "Ocean Queen" was, however, on this occasion too deep to be so easily entrapped; and whilst the commiseration of Christendom was directed to Malta; whilst, as Sir Paul Rycault observes, all were waiting to see the island thrown into the sea with a shovel and mattock, Venice was privately, but sedulously, employed in the defensive preparation of Candia. On the 30th of April, 1645, the

A. D.
1644.

the surrender, 1670, differs essentially in some of its details. See "A Description of Candia, with an account of the Siege thereof. London: Printed for William Crook by J. C., at the Green Dragon, without Temple-bar. 1670."

A. D.
1645. armament of Ibrahim issued from the Dardanelles, and joined those of Tunis and his other allies off the Isle of Scio, when their united forces amounted to upwards of 400 sail, and carried 7000 janissaries, 14,000 spahis, 3000 pioneers, and about 50,000 Timariots.*

They now steered for the West: some storms and other causes of delay intervened to retard their progress, but in the beginning of June their intentions were clearly declared; the Venetian Bailo had been seized at Constantinople, war had been proclaimed, and the Ottoman fleet appeared in full sail off the shores of Cape Spada. The war now commenced with vigour. The fleets of the Republic were entrusted to Girolamo Morosini and Antonio Capello. Francesco Molino was created provider general of the forces; and some faint efforts were made to oppose the Turks, on their first landing at Canea, the second city of the island. But all their precautions proved fruitless; the soldiers of Ibrahim triumphed over every opposition; in vain the united efforts of the auxiliaries, supplied by the Pope, by Naples, Tuscany, and Malta, were directed to the defence of each successive point; Canea, Retimo, and every city of importance, fell within the space of two campaigns, and the town and fortress of

* Sir P. Rycault, vol. ii. p. 59.

Candia alone acknowledged the sovereignty of Venice, or bore aloft the standard of St. Mark.* A. D.
1647.

But the final subjection of the island was not a matter to be so easily compassed; and four-and-twenty years were consumed in the attempt, ere Mahomet IV. the son and successor of Ibrahim, succeeded in reducing the fortress, and annexing Candia to the Ottoman dominions. A. D.
1669. Two hundred thousand men were lost in this celebrated siege, to which the annals of ancient and modern warfare afford no parallel; and upwards of one hundred millions of golden crowns were, according to Cantemir, expended in support of the war by the obstinate and ambitious Sultan.† Charmed with their success after so long a struggle, the Ottomans were now anxious for an interval of repose; and Venice, worn out with her ineffectual exertions to preserve this wing of her dominions, and hopeless of being ever able to recover the ground which she had abandoned, readily consented to an accommodation.‡ A peace was accordingly concluded in 1669, by which the Dalmatian fron-

* Sir P. Rycault, vol. ii. p. 62. Cantemir, p. 254. Description of Candia (British Museum), p. ii. Thornton's Turkey, vol. i. Intro. p. 181.

† For the History of the Siege of Candia, see Rycault, pp. 185, 220; Cantemir, 262.

‡ Puffendorff, Intro. à l'Hist. de l'Univers, lib. ii. c. 1.

A. D. tier of the two empires was accurately defined,*
 1684 and Candia was assigned to the Sultan, Venice merely retaining the unimportant points of Spina-longa, Garabusa, and Suda,† of which, the Porte contrived in a very short period to dispossess her. This treaty remained inviolate till 1684, when the misfortunes of the
 A. D. Turks before Vienna, and the successful opposition rendered to their arms by the united
 1684 forces of Poland and Germany, induced Venice to join the Christian league against them, in order at once to recover her Grecian possessions, and aid in the expected subjugation of the infidels.‡ The operations of Turkey in this unfortunate war had been altogether confined to some attempts by land, and it was, therefore, with feelings of well-founded alarm that she learned the determination of a maritime power to take up arms against her. Strenuous efforts were immediately made to dissuade Venice from the alliance, but in vain; she rigidly adhered to the faith she had so lately pledged to the Pope§ and the belligerent Europeans; and the Porte was forced to draw off a large body of her forces from

* Thornton, vol. i. c. 85.

† For a concise detail of the Candian war, see also Perceval's History of Italy, vol. ii. pp. 529, 534; and a more minute sketch of its progress in Darn, Hist. de la Venise, vol. v.

‡ Fanelli, lib. iii. s. 644.

§ Innocent XI.

the northern campaign for the defence of Dalmatia and the Morea, where they awaited the first assaults of the Republic. The fleet of the Venetians was shortly after* entrusted to Morosini, who had held the command at the surrender of Candia; and having formed a rendezvous at the island of Corfu, they proceeded to attack Santa Maura, which had for a considerable time before become a haunt of the Barbary corsairs. During the first campaign this important point was reduced,† and Prevesa, on the Gulf of Arta, was successfully attacked and invested by the troops of Venice. Vast stores of ammunition and provisions were captured in both; and winter approaching, the admiral retired to the islands to await the return of spring to recommence his operations.‡

A. D.
1684.

* On the 8th of June, 1684, according to the magniloquent announcement of Fanelli. “Era già uscita dai porti la poderosa Armata della Republica nel dì otto Giugno, mille seicento ottantaquattro, soggetta all’ Imperio del Cavalier, e Procurator Sopranumerario di S. Marco Francesco Morosini, col titolo di Capitan Generale da Mar, prescelto dal Serenissimo maggior Consiglio come Capitano d’impareggiabile virtù e singolar esperienza, di magnanimo ardire ed imperturbata costanza; insigne nella militar disciplina, glorioso per le eroiche imprese, terribile ai nemici; unico al Patria, e famoso appresso tutte le generose nazioni.”—lib. iii. s. 651.

† Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxiv. p. 345.

‡ Puffendorff, vol. ii. p. 48. In the course of the present sketch I have had frequent occasion to remark the egregious

A. D.
1684. In the succeeding campaign Morosini directed his operations against the Morea, where the captures of Pylos or Palaio-castro, and Neo-castro or Navarino, were the first successes of his arms. The latter was surrendered by the Seraskier, or Mora-beg, to Count Koningsmark, on the 17th of June; and the conqueror found within the walls sixty-four pieces of cannon and thirteen mortars.* On the 7th of the following July, Modon capitulated, after a siege of thirteen days; and Morosini resolved at once on boldly attacking the capital, and accordingly sailed with his united force for Napoli di Romania. By a strange remissness of the Pacha, he was permitted, almost without opposition, to occupy the citadel of the Palamede,† a high cliff which commands the town; and from this, in the space

ignorance of the geography of Greece, manifested by almost every writer from the eleventh to the nineteenth century, but I was not prepared to find so glaring an instance as that of Cantemir, (whose birth and situation might have given him opportunities of being better informed,) who places *Prevesa*, and consequently Actium, in the Peloponnesus.—See part ii. book iv. of his Ottoman History, sect. 108.

* Sir Paul Rycault, vol. ii. p. 337. In the third volume of Sir Paul's history, published subsequently, he has introduced a more detailed account of the Venetian operations, by which it appears that Coron and Calamata were amongst the cities subdued in the campaign of 1685.—*Vide* vol. iii. p. 181.

† July 30, 1686.

of one month from the date of his arrival, he forced the garrison to surrender on the same favourable terms with those other fortresses which had already capitulated. The Pacha, with sixty followers, chose rather to trust to the mercy of the Republic than brave the displeasure of the Sultan; and he was in consequence transported to Venice, where he was honourably received and maintained at the cost of the Senate. About sixty other less important villages and burghs followed the example of Nauplia, and placed themselves under the protection of the Venetians; and Morosini having divided their share of the spoil amongst the hired galleys of his fleet, dismissed them to their respective homes, whilst he proceeded in person to lay under contribution the isles of the Archipelago.

A. D.
1683.

Nor were the operations of Venice confined to the Morea only; Cornaro had been despatched to Dalmatia, in order to intercept those forces which Turkey might* be disposed to despatch into Hungary, or the South; and the Porte, thus harassed on every side, was glad to sue for peace. She offered to yield to the Emperor all Hungary as far as the Drave; to assign Podolia to the King of Poland; and to restore to Venice the entire of

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxiv. p. 347.

A. D. Candia, provided she were inclined to surrender
 1696. her Moreot conquests; but all parties conspired in spurning at her offers, and prepared to pursue with vigour the course of conquest, whose outset had been so amply blessed by fortune.

During the progress of these important events, the Greeks were by no means calm spectators of the exploits of others. However religious rancour might have excited dislike to the *persons*, they had ever entertained too kind a remembrance of the mild *government* of the Venetians, to remain contented under the Ottoman tyranny; and no sooner was war inflamed, and a prospect of relief manifested to them, than they at once threw off their allegiance, and from Maina to Thessaly flew, sword in hand, to join the standard of Venice. In the attacks of Morosini upon Prevesa and Santa Maura, he had been strenuously supported by these bands of volunteers; and on the first origin of the insurrection in 1685, the Mainotes* rose in

* The derivation of the name Maina, like that of the Morea, to which I have already alluded,† is Sclavonic, and was adopted by the Venetians on the occupation of this district after the fourth Crusade, and by them has been perpetuated to the present. *Maina*, from the Sanscrit *Mail*, signifies a mountain,‡ and a chain of hills in Thessaly near Meteora, bears the same designation.

† See p. 60, *Malthe Brun*, Geog. Univ. vol. vi. p. 172.

‡ Ibid. vol. vi. p. 203.

tumult against the local government of their A. D. 1834.
 beys. This promontory, inhabited by the representatives of the ancient Spartans, and the mingled descendants of the Sclavi, the Albanians, and their other invaders, had never been thoroughly subdued by either Frank or Mahometan. During the dynasty of the French barons and their successors, it had contrived to maintain a partial independence; and though it had nominally submitted to the arms of Bajazet and Mahomet II. yet its government consisted rather in the regulations of its own republic, than in any form emanating from the court of Constantinople. Equally opposed to Turk and Christian, its inhabitants are represented by their early visitors as subsisting by the impartial plunder of each; and whilst their galleys by sea interrupted the course of commerce in the Levant, their troops of bandits in the mountains of the Morea committed never-ending ravages on the property of the Moslems. The booty wrested from each was alternately disposed of to his neighbour; the captive Christians were sold into slavery to the corsairs of Barbary; and the Moorish prisoners in like manner transported to the markets of Venice and of Malta.*

* Sir P. Rycault, vol. iii. p. 175. One of the most perfect accounts we possess of the modern Mainotes is contained in a

A. D. 1687. The campaign of 1687 virtually completed the conquest of the Morea; in fact, the state of weakness and alarm to which Turkey seemed

narrative of a journey through that district in 1795, by Mr. Morritt, published in the first volume of Walpole's Memoirs, relative to European Turkey. It seems to correct, in a great degree, the mass of exaggeration and falsehood which successive travellers had, from hearsay, promulgated regarding the Mainotes, and to represent in their true colours a people of singular energy, and remarkable national peculiarities. From this interesting document I subjoin the following extract relative to the independence, manners, resources, and general character of the inhabitants of Modern Sparta.

“ The government of Maina at the time I visited it, resembled in many respects the ancient establishment of the Highland clans in Scotland. It was divided into smaller or larger districts, over each of which a chief, or Capitano, presided, whose usual residence was a fortified tower, the resort of his family and clan in times of peace, and their refuge in war. The district they governed belonged to their retainers, who each contributed a portion (I think, a tenth) of the produce of his land to the maintenance of the family under whom he held. Each chief, besides this, had his own domain, which was cultivated by his servants and slaves, and which was never very considerable. They were perfectly independent of each other; the judges of their people at home, and their leaders when they took the field. The most powerful Capitano of the district usually assumed the title of Bey of Maina, and in that name transacted their business with the Turks, negotiated their treaties, or directed their arms against the common enemy. In the country itself his power rested merely on the voluntary obedience of the other chiefs, and his jurisdiction extended in fact only over his immediate

at this crisis to be reduced, appeared to totally deprive her of the means of defence, or the promptness of decision requisite for the protec-

A. D.
1687.

dependents. The Turkish court, to preserve at least a shadow of power over this refractory community, generally confirmed by a ferman the appointment of the Bey, whose own power or influence enabled him to support the title. The population of Maina is so great in proportion to its fertility, that they are obliged to import many of the common necessities of life. For these they must occasionally trade with the Turkish provinces, and exchange their own oil and silk and domestic manufactures for the more essential articles of wheat and maize, and provisions. To obtain these, they had recourse sometimes to smuggling, and sometimes to a regular payment of the Charatch, and acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Porte. This they again threw off, when a favourable year, or any extraordinary sources of supply, rendered their submission unnecessary; and by such rebellion had more than once drawn upon them the vengeance of their powerful neighbour. The contest had been repeatedly renewed, and as often the Turks had been repulsed, or had fallen victims to the determined resistance of the Mainiots, and the inaccessible nature of their country.

“The coast, indented with small creeks, containing the row-boats used universally in piratical excursions, is every where surrounded by rocks and exposed to winds, which render it unsafe for transports and ships of burden. On the arrival of an enemy, their villages and towers along the shore were deserted, and the people retired to the mountains, the steep ridges of Taygetus, that rise from the shore, where other villages and securer valleys afforded them a temporary shelter from the storm of invasion. Should a body of troops be landed, and wreak their vengeance on the deserted habitations, the

A. D. 1667. tion of her invaded dominions. In Northern Greece, Cornaro was laying waste her fairest provinces; and early in this year Francesco

first rising gale cuts them off from all hopes of assistance from their fleet. A hardy people, well acquainted with every path of their native mountains, armed to a man with excellent rifles, dispersing easily by day, and assembling as easily every night, would distress them every hour they stayed, and harass them at every step, if they advanced. The very women, well acquainted with the use of arms, have more than once poured ruin from the walls of some strong-built tower, or well-situated village, on the assailants, from whom they had nothing to expect but slaughter or captivity, if conquered. The country admits not of the conveyance of artillery; and their towers, ill calculated as they may seem for the improved warfare of more polished nations, offered a powerful means of resistance against the efforts of the Turks, and had more than once materially delayed their progress.

“Should the Turks attack them by land, their frontier to the North is still more impenetrable. The loftiest and most inaccessible rocks, and the highest summits of Taygetus occupy the whole line, leaving only two roads that are shut in by the mountain on one side, and the sea on the other. The passes of the interior part of the country are known only to the natives; and to penetrate along the coast, while the Mainiots are in possession of the mountains, would require courage and discipline very superior to such as are generally displayed by the Turkish soldiery. In the war conducted by Lambro, with Russian money, the Mainiots were found so troublesome to the Turks, that a combined attack was made upon their country by the fleet under the Capoudan Pasha, which landed troops upon their coast, and the forces of the

Morosini again sailed for the Morea. His force consisted of upwards of 120 galleys, galeasses, and smaller craft, which, on the 21st of July,

A. D.
1687.

Morea, which marched at the same time from Misitra. The number of these two armies, probably exaggerated, was rated by the Mainiots at 20,000 men. The result of the attack by sea was pointed out to me near Cardamyle; a heap of whitening bones in a dell near the town, the remains of the Turks who, after suffering the severest privations, were not so fortunate as the rest in finding a refuge in their fleet. The attack by land was equally disastrous. After a fruitless attempt to advance, and burning a few inconsiderable villages, their army was obliged to retire, harassed by the fury of the people, while another party of the Mainiots burst into the plain of the Eurotas, drove off whatever they could plunder, and in the flames of Misitra, a considerable Turkish town, expiated the trifling mischief they had sustained at home.

“Such are the stories at least which I heard repeated by their chiefs, and which the common people no less delighted to tell. Though easily united, when threatened by the Turk, yet frequent feuds, and petty warfare, too often arose between their chiefs at home: these feuds, however, preserved alive the martial spirit of the people, and they were, perhaps, on this account more successful in their resistance than they would have been if their government was more settled, and they had enjoyed a more uninterrupted peace. By sea their warfare was still more inextinguishable. They infested with their row-boats every corner of the Cyclades and Morea, and made a lawful prize of any vessel that was too weak for resistance; or entered by night into the villages and dwellings near the shore, carrying off whatever they could find. Boats of this sort, called here *Trattas*, abounded in every creek;

A. D. 1687. came to anchor in the bay of Patras. The fortress was not long able to withstand his efforts and those of Koningsmark; a few

they are long and narrow like canoes; ten, twenty, and even thirty men, each armed with a rifle and pistols, row them with great celerity, and small masts with Latine sails are also used when the winds are favourable. Every chief had one or more of these; and all exercised piracy as freely, and with the same sentiments, as appeared to have prevailed among the heroes of the Odyssey and early inhabitants of Greece.

“ Habits like these, it may well be supposed, had a correspondent effect on the national character. Their freedom, though turbulent and ill regulated, produced the effects of freedom: they were active, industrious, and intelligent. Among their chiefs, I found men tolerably versed in the modern Romaic literature, and some who had sufficient knowledge of their ancient language to read Herodotus and Xenophon, and who were well acquainted with the revolutions of their country. Their independence and their victories had given them confidence; and they possessed the lofty mind and attachment to their country which has everywhere distinguished the inhabitants of mountainous and free districts, whether in Britain, Switzerland, or Greece. The robbery and piracy they exercised indiscriminately in their roving expeditions, they dignified by the name of war; but though their hostility was treacherous and cruel, their friendship was inviolable. The stranger that was within their gates was a sacred title, and not even the Arabs were more attentive to the claims of hospitality. When we delivered our letters of recommendation to a chief, he received us with every mark of friendship, escorted us everywhere while we stayed, and conducted us safely to the house of his nearest neighbour,

days witnessed its surrender, and in the course of four-and-twenty hours he added to the dominions of Venice the town of Lepanto,

A. D.
1687.

where he left us under the protection of his friend : there we again stayed a short time, and were forwarded in the same manner to a third. To pass by such a chief's dwelling without stopping to visit it, would have been deemed an insult, as the reception of strangers was a privilege highly valued. While a stranger was under their protection, his safety was their first object ; an insult to such a person would have aroused in their breasts the strongest incitements to revenge ; his danger would have induced them to sacrifice even their lives to his preservation, as his suffering any injury would have been an indelible disgrace to the family where it happened.

“ The religion of the Mainiots is that of the Greek Christian church, with its usual accompaniments of saints, holy places, and holy pictures. Their churches were numerous, clean, and well attended ; their superstition was great, as may be supposed from the adventurous and precarious life I have described. Hence their fondness for amulets and charms, and faith in them : but I know not whether they carry these to a greater height than the rest of their nation.

“ A more pleasing feature in their character, was their domestic intercourse with the other sex. Their wives and daughters, unlike those of most other districts in the Levant, were neither secluded, corrupted, or enslaved. Women succeeded in default of male issue to the possessions of their fathers, and partook at home of the confidence of their husbands, the education of their children, and the management of their families. In the villages they shared in the labours of domestic life, and in war they even partook of the dangers

A. D.
1687. and the castles which command the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf. The Seraskier, now terrified at the resistless progress of the Christian arms, retired with his family and troops to the citadel of Corinth; but on the advance of the Venetians, he again took to flight, fired the city, blew up the magazine, and left to the advancing army merely a heap of smouldering ruins. Castel Tornese, a strong fort near the coast of Clarenza, was the next conquest of Morosini; whilst the fear of his arms, or the fickleness of their defender, induced the governors of numerous inland towns to send forward deputies in order to announce their surrender. Amongst these were Mistra, the capital of the modern Sparta, and Karitena, a strongly situated fortress, in the heart of Arcadia,* which, on the present insurrection (1821), was

of the field. In no country were they more at liberty, and in no country were there fewer instances of its abuse than in Maina at this period. Conjugal infidelity was extremely rare; and indeed as death was sure to follow detection, and might even follow suspicion, it was not likely to have made much progress. The dress and appearance of these heroines will be described in the course of my relation; they were very different indeed from what the Amazonian nature of their habits and accomplishments would lead the reader to suppose."

* Sir P. Rycault, vol. iii. p. 270.

the first to raise the standard of independence. A.D.
1687.
 The miserable Greeks, who had in the northern districts been groaning under the Ottoman despotism, now hastened towards the south, and entreated to be received as subjects by the reinstated Republic. The admiral accordingly accepted their submission, and to the number of several thousands, they were transported, with their property, and settled in the Morea, where, according to Sir Paul Rycault, their descendants are still existing.* Hence, Morosini sailed for Athens; the troops of Koningsmark joined him on the shores of Corinth, and on the 21st of September their united army was landed at the Piræus. The details of this interesting siege are given with considerable precision in a curious little pamphlet, in the collection of the British Museum,† from which I shall here take the liberty of transcribing a few extracts.

* Vol. iii. p. 271.

† "A Journal of the Venetian Campaign, A. D. 1687, under the conduct of Captain General Morosini, General Coningsmark, Proveditor General Cornaro, General Venieri, &c.; Translated from the Italian original sent from Venice, and printed by order of the most Serene Republic. Licensed December 1687. R. L'Estrange. London: printed by H. C., and sold by R. Taylor, near Stationers' Hall. 1688."

A. D.
1687.

“ From the Venetian Fleet, near Athens,
September 21, 1687.

“ Having fetch'd their compass round about the Morea, after the surrender of Misitra at discretion, and the ruin of all Malvasia with bombs,* to let those haughty Turks understand the power of the Serene Republic, his Excellency the Lord Admiral, having rendezvous'd his fleet within the Streight of Corinth, in the Gulph of Egena (Egina), had an earnest desire to put an end to this year's campaign with the conquest of Negropont, so much by him desir'd; but considering, together with the other superior commanders and sea-captains, who are admitted to council, not only the difficulties of the season, far advanc'd in the year, but the numerous garrison, of above five thousand foot, which guarded that precinct, and the opposition which the Serasquier might make, with the unanimous consent of the whole council, the siege of Athens was agreed upon, to make way the next season for the conquest of the Negropont.

“ Thereupon the men-of-war being sent away to this island, in a distinct squadron, to amuse

* On his way to Athens, Morosini had bombarded but not subdued Napoli di Malvasia. (See Sir P. Rycault, vol. iii. p. 271.) Misitra had previously been surrendered by the Mainotes. (See *ib.*)

the enemy,* and draw the Serasquier thither with his forces, they steer'd directly toward Port Draco, the twentieth, in the evening, and the next morning reach'd the Port.

A. D.
1687.

“ On the twenty-first, they landed all their militia, horse and foot, but not so much as one Turk appear'd in the field; whereupon they pass'd on to Athens, and made themselves masters of the town, which is only inhabited by the Greeks, while the Ottomans were retir'd into the upper enclosure.

“ His Excellency understanding the strong situation of the place, because he would not be constrain'd to ruin it with his bombs, summon'd the defendants to a surrender. But the enemy return'd answer by word of mouth, that they were resolv'd to hold out.

“ The twenty-second, two mortar-pieces of five hundred, and two pieces of cannon of fifty, with two lesser guns of twenty, were landed; which were easily brought to the batteries that were raising, because the way was smooth and level, and but six miles in length.

“ On the twenty-third, they went on with their work in raising their batteries: during which labour, Serjeant Major Perez dy'd the twenty-fourth at night, of a wound received by a musket-bullet.

* See Fanelli, lib. iii. s. 653.

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1687.

“ The twenty-fifth, four more great guns, two of fifty, and two of twenty, with two mortar-pieces, were landed and brought to the battery.

“ The twenty-sixth, they began to play with their bombs upon the fortress; one of which fell among the *ammunition*, and fir'd a great part of it, to the great terror of the besieged, whose defences began to fail them, their parapets being ruin'd, and their great guns dismounted.

“ The twenty-seventh,—this day the trenches were open'd, in order to make the approaches, and to advance under the walls.

“ The twenty-eighth, towards evening, through the continual playing of our bombs, which fell all into the small enclosure, there happened *another great fire,** which encreasing

* This conflagration, and that mentioned above, are the fires so often referred to by modern travellers, as having done so much injury during the Venetian siege.—See Chandler's *Travels in Greece*, ch. ix. Byron's *Childe Harold*, canto ii. stanza 1. notes to do. 1 and 2. Stuart's *Athens*, vol. ii. p. 3. Elmes, in his *Dictionary of the Fine Arts*, (article Athens) observes, that “ in 1687, nine thousand Venetians, under the command of the Venetian Vandal, (Count Koningsmark, who, by the way, was a *Swede*,) disembarked at the Piræus, erected batteries on the Pnyx, and at the eastern base of the Acropolis. From thence they bombarded the citadel, and destroyed the temple of '*Victory, without wings*,' which has been used by the Turks as a powder magazine, the frieze of which is at present in the British Museum.

upon the fuel of the houses, and the continual playing our bombs endur'd so furious all that day and the next night, that the enemy, astonish'd to see their houses and their goods consum'd, and their families burn'd, resolv'd to hang out a white flag; and, with earnest and loud cries toward the battery of the superintendent, Count Felice, begg'd 'em to fling no more bombs: which the Count understanding, caus'd all hostility to cease. Whereupon General Coningsmark gave leave for five hostages to come forth, who being sent to the Lord Admiral and Captain General, the following capitulations were agreed upon, which being trans-

A.D.
1687.

The Pantheon shared a similar fate from a shell, which fell into a magazine, and reduced all the middle of the temple to ruins. Athens was surrendered, after the destruction of her chief glories, to the Venetians, who, after *a few months' occupation*, and destruction of other works of art, by the idle vanity of the Doge Morosini, or the carelessness of his followers, were compelled to abandon the conquest, and the Crescent again soared triumphant over the Acropolis." This violence of Mr. Elmes against the Venetians is totally unmerited; Cantemir himself acknowledges, that any mischief done by them was the *result of accident*,—Part i. book iv. p. 173. Mr. Perceval, in his *History of Italy*, (vol. ii. p. 537.) has made a slight error in stating that Athens was restored to the Porte at the peace of Carlowitz. It was, in fact, evacuated by Venice in 1688, eleven years before that treaty was ratified.—See Cantemir, Part ii. book iv. xiii.; and Foscarini, book vi. p. 288.

A. D. 1687. lated into the Turkish idiom, one copy was sign'd by the hostages aforementioned, and the other sent to the fortress for punctual performance.

" His Excellency was glad of this advantage, for tho' the enclosure were but small, yet it would have cost a great deal of time, and loss of much blood, to have master'd it, by reason of the strength of the situation.

" Moreover, it was of great consequence, because it commands not only a country of spacious extent, but also a large and wealthy city lying under it, a place of great trade for several sorts of merchandize that are brought to this town, and which will, therefore, in time of peace, bring great revenue to the public treasury.

" Porto Lion, Sept. 29, 1687.

" Ali Aga, Kussein Effendi, Kussein Aga, Kazi-Mahomet, Achmet Effendi Poscha, (Pacha?) Turks sent by the commander of Athens in the quality of hostages, being all together in the Admiral galley, to treat upon conditions of surrender with his Excellency Procurator and Captain General: the articles were agreed upon in the form following:—

" 1. That as an act of gracious clemency, all the Turks, with their wives and children, should be permitted to depart and quit the

enclosure within the space of five days, begun this present day, with liberty to carry forth as many useful necessities as every one can be able to carry on his back, arms only excepted.

A. D.
1687.

“ 2. That they shall have leave at Noleggio to hire vessels, at their own charges, to carry them to Smyrna, or where they please.

“ 3. That at their departure they shall not put any force upon any person that is not willing to go along with them, and shall leave all the slaves behind them, of what condition soever.

“ 4. That in case there shall be at present found any want of water, or any scarcity of ammunition or provisions, that then these articles are to be void and of no effect, and that the defendant shall run the risk of being compelled to surrender at discretion.

“ The fourth of October the Turks quitted the place, to the number of three thousand souls, of which there were about five hundred souldiers; and coming to the sea-side with what goods they could carry, were put aboard four foreign vessels, which they hir'd themselves.

“ Eighth ditto, were found in the castle eighteen great guns of several sorts; and tho' now it be a heap of ruins, yet in a

A. D.
1687. short time it may be made a place of great strength.”*

Sir Paul Rycault adds to this description, that about three hundred Turks, rather than leave Athens, chose on its surrender to abjure Mahomedanism, and were baptised into the Catholic church.† Morosini left the Acropolis and garrison under the conduct of Daniel Delfini, whilst he retired with the fleet, in order to prepare for the siege of Negropont in the ensuing campaign. In the mean time all was confusion, both amongst the Greeks and the Ottomans. The Seraskier, with the remnant of his troops, had retired to Negropont; whilst the people of numerous villages and towns, impelled either by the Turks, or some more obscure motive, reduced them to ashes rather than permit them to be occupied by the Venetians. Amongst the rest, the inhabitants of Megara, struck with a panic on the fall of Athens, abandoned their city in fearful consternation, and having carried off the most portable portion of their effects, committed their houses to the flames.

A. D.
1688. Early in the spring of the following year, the fleet of Venice again sailed for Eubœa. The Turks immediately retired with

* The details of these sieges will be found at some length in Fanelli's *Atene Attica*, lib. iii.

† Vol. iii. p. 272.

the Seraskier to the principal city of the island, and there for the space of the entire campaign, were enabled to resist the united forces of their besiegers. On the 12th of October a final but fruitless attempt was made by the Venetians: they were repulsed at all points; and being forced by the lateness of the season to retire, their forces were dispersed throughout the islands of the Archipelago, and the Admiral returned to pass the winter at Napoli di Romania.

A. D.
1688.

From March to September the succeeding year, Morosini was occupied in a vain assault and blockade of Napoli di Malvasia, till ill health forced him to return to Venice; and after a short cruise through the Archipelago, during which a few galleys were left to keep up the blockade, he entered the Adriatic, rode quarantine at Spalato, on the 17th of December was received with loud acclamations of the Senate, and conducted to the Palace of St. Mark. The following campaign was marked by no signal successes, save the reduction of Malvasia by vigorous assault,* the Venetians being wearied, and the Turks worn out with the tedium of a long blockade. This was the last point held by the Ottomans, and its capture completed the conquest of the Morea.† Venice now seemed, as

A. D.
1689.

A. D.
1690.

* 12th Aug. 1690. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* v. xxiv. p. 349.

† Rycault, vol. iii. p. 390.

A. D.
1690. on former occasions, to become careless and intoxicated with success: she had already lost Athens in 1688,* and her exertions from this period to the peace of Carlowitz, in 1699, were productive of no striking results, nor did they tend to any permanent advantage. Turkey, too, had long been tired of the profitless struggle: even in the fourth year of the war, "the Germans had driven her auxiliaries from Hungary, Transylvania, and Sclavonia;† and the arms of Venice had in Dalmatia and Albania been equally successful as in the Morea. Successive Sultans were merged in equal disgrace; the energies of the soldiery began to flag under defeats entailed upon them by the imbecility of their leaders; and at length, after the slaughter of his army at Zenta, Mustafa II. concluded, in 1699, the treaty of Carlowitz, under the mediation of England and Holland, by which he relinquished Transylvania, and nearly the whole of Hungary and Sclavonia, to the Emperor; Podolia and the

* Cantemir.—She abandoned it in order to draw off the garrison to the siege of Negropont. Foscarini represents it as totally ruined and deserted by the inhabitants. "Resto spogliato il castello del cannone e d'ogn' altra provizione, e gl' abitanti dei borghi hebbero ricovero, alcuni nella Morea e altri nell' isole de Egina, Coluri e Zante."—*Histor. Venet.* lib. vii. p. 288.

† Thornton, vol. i. p. 93.

fortress of Kaminiec to the Poles; Azoff to Russia; and the Morea, with some important points of Dalmatia, to the Republic of Venice. The following are a few items of the treaty which refer to Greece:—

A. D.
1699.

“Trattato di Pace tra l'Eccelso Imperio Ottomanno, e la Serenissima Republica di Venezia, conchiuso nel Congresso di Carlouiz nel Sirmio sotto le Tende alli 26 di Genaro, 1699, &c.

“1. La Morea colle sue Città, Fortezze, Castelli, Terre, Ville, Monti, Fiumi, Laghi, Boschi, Porti, e ogni altra cosa, che si ritrova dentro la circonferenza della medesima, ora possessa dalla Republica di Venezia: resti pacificamente nel possesso e dominio dell' istessa Republica, tra' i suoi limiti del Mare, e dell' Essamiglio, ove sono li vestiggi dell' antica muraglia, così che nè dal canto di Morea si faccia veruna estensione nella Terra Ferma, nè dal canto della Terra Ferma si faccia alcuna estensione oltre i Limiti della Morea.

“2. La Terra Ferma essendo nel possesso dell' Eccelso Imperio, resta totalmente nel possesso e dominio dell' istesso Imperio, per appunto nello stato, che si trovava nel principio di questa ultima Guerra. La Fortezza di Lepanto restarà evacuata dalla Republica di Venezia. Il Castello detto di Rumelia nella parte di Lepanto si demolirà, e si demolirà parimente la Fortezza di Prevesa, e si lascerà in quella parte la Terra Ferma nel suo primiero e intiero stato.

“3. L'Isola di Santa Maura colla sua Fortezza, e Capo di Ponte, detto Peracia, senza veruna estensione maggiore in Terra Ferma, e l'Isola di Leucade attaccata à Santa Maura, restaranno nel possesso e dominio della Republica di Venezia.

“4.

* * * * *

“5. Li Golfi, che si trovano frà la Terra Ferma, e la Morea

A. D. restano all' uso commune, obligandosi l' una e l' altra parte
1699. di conservarli immuni, e franchi da qualsivoglia cattiva Gente.

“ 6. Le Isole dell' Arcipelago e di quei Mari restaranno in quello stato che erano avant' il principio di questa ultima Guerra, nel possesso dell' Eccelso Imperio, nè si pretenderanno dalla Republica caraggi, ò siano contribuzioni, od altro introdotto nell tempo della presente Guerra.

“ 7. • • • • • • • • • •
L'Isola di Egina colla sua Fortezza come adgiacente alla Morea, e posseduta dalla Republica di Venezia, remanerà col suo presente stato nel possesso e dominio dell'istessa Republica.”

CHAPTER VIII.

From the peace of Carlowitz to the peace of Passarowitz,
when Greece was finally ceded to Turkey, A.D. 1699-1718.

THE conquest of the Morea is the last brilliant episode in the history of falling Venice; and from that period her annals present "only the silent and unbroken progress of corruption, and the irretrievable decay of political energies."* Her success, too, in this war has been attributed, and justly, to other accidental causes, rather than the unbending influence of personal valour or military sagacity: the towering spirit of Morosini was the main and individual agent of her victories, and the distraction of Turkey at the moment prevented her from devoting to the protection of the Morea those powers which she possessed, and which, though already on the wane, were still more than adequate to hold in check the turbulence or the insolence of the

A. D.
1699.

* Perceval's Italy, vol. ii. p. 605.

A. D. 1699. declining Republic. A consciousness of the real weakness of Venice, and of their own ability at some more opportune period to reclaim their possessions, was, no doubt, one powerful cause of the facility with which the Porte acceded to the treaty of Carlowitz; and Cantemir relates an anecdote of the Reis Effendi which amply supports the assumption. During the conference of the plenipotentiaries, previous to the accommodation of the articles, the Ambassador of Venice had conducted himself rather haughtily towards the Ministers of Turkey, when the officer I have alluded to gave him a cutting reproof, by relating a proverb of a pick-pocket having slyly crept in and stolen away the garments of two athletic wrestlers, which they had for a moment doffed for the sake of convenience; but he added that a period was fast approaching, when the thief should be forced to surrender his booty, and, in all probability, be obliged to yield up his *skin* along with his borrowed habiliments.*

Venice, however, once in possession, and perfectly aware of the precarious footing on which she stood, applied herself, with all expedition, to securing the permanent tenure of her acquisitions. The forts along the Hexamilion were,

* Cantemir, Part ii. Book iv. p. 426, note 35.

for the third or fourth time,* restored; and the strong-holds, throughout the peninsula, were placed in a proper state for defence. But a more politic measure was her attempt to secure the affections of the Greeks themselves. An officer of rank was, in the first instance, despatched into the Morea, with a commission to redress all injuries which had been sustained by the inhabitants, and to establish an administration which should hold out every enticement to allegiance. The effort was, however, in vain; that spirit of schismatic dissension, which had ever been the canker of Greece, again intervened to counteract the salutary measures of her masters. The venom of the Greek church was called into full play by so close a collision with the Roman Catholics; and whilst they outwardly coincided with their political regulations, they again secretly regretted the presence of the Venetians, and preferred an intercourse with those whose creed was so widely different from their own as to prevent the possibility of contact or discussion.† The change of masters, in fact, had only been one from open hatred to concealed chagrin; and the glossy surface of ill-feigned satisfaction was daily warped by the internal fermentation of religious rancour.

The first thirteen years of the eighteenth

* Daru, vol. v. p. 169.

† Ibid.

A.D. century were occupied by the contentions of
1713. the houses of Austria and Bourbon, for the crown of Spain; and nearly the whole of Europe was drawn into the vortex of the war. Venice, unable to hold her own conquests, and enfeebled by her late convulsive struggles to obtain them, was too weak to take any active part in the dispute; and contented herself with employing that interval in efforts to recruit her exhausted strength and fortify her extended frontiers. Her attempts to cast an air of exalted nobility over her forced neutrality were, nevertheless, sneered at by the other powers of Europe; her territories in northern Italy were violated by the French and the Imperialists, and her assumed dominion over the Adriatic was infringed by the fleets of both belligerents. The Senate seemed, however, insensible to the insult, and to the end of the war Venice maintained her inglorious inactivity, whilst her tame and degraded submission served still farther to open the eyes of Turkey to her feebleness, and convince the Porte that she was held in unsympathizing contempt by the sovereigns of Christendom. Well knowing how to profit by this palatable conviction, the Divan commenced with equal secrecy and promptitude preparations for their long-cherished revenge on the Republic; and Europe having at length ar-

ranged her own disputes, paused on her arms to mark the bursting of the tempest in the East. It was not at first conceived that the vast preparations making at Constantinople were destined to act against the Venetians. It was originally reported by the Divan that they feared an insurrection in the capital; but when it was known abroad that forty vessels were preparing to put to sea, the fact of a distant expedition could be no longer concealed, and the Porte then announced its intentions to chastise the Montenegrins, who inhabit the mountains on the frontiers of Dalmatia.* Venice, thunderstruck by

A. D.
1713.

* These people possess a small mountainous district of about 150 leagues in extent, to the North of Albania, called in their own Slavonic dialect, Czerna-Gora, and denominated by the Turks, Kara Tag.† Their semi-barbarous and hardy population comprises from 35 to 40,000 inhabitants, whose mountain fortresses and love of liberty have hitherto secured to them a rude and sturdy independence. Formerly, on the approach of any overwhelming emergency, they sought the alternate protection of Venice or the Ottomans; but neither could ever reckon them in the number of their subjects, notwithstanding the empty threat alluded to in the text.‡ The affairs of their government are conducted by a council, composed of the Sardars or Captains of the four *najas*, or divisions of the people, and the *knez* or elders of each village of Montenegro, which assembles at Cettigné, the

† Malthe Brun.

‡ Bory St. Vincent, *Resumé Geogr. de la Grèce et la Turquie*, p. 379.

A. D. 1713. the approach of the danger, which was speedily revealed to her, was too much terrified at its approach to fully comprehend its alarming extent;* even her steps for self-preservation were taken half in doubt and half in timidity, and whilst large bodies of troops were posted uselessly on her Milanese frontier, the Morea was left with a garrison of 8000 men, eleven galleys, and eight ships of the line. She scarcely dreamt of the possibility of attack, till the Grand Vizier burst into the peninsula with an army of 100,000

chief city of the district situated on the Ricovernovich. The powers of its Vladika or President are, however, rivalled in their extent by those of the Archbishop, a prelate considerably under the influence of the Austrians, in whose territory he now resides at the Monastery of Stagnovich, and who may be considered as the chief of the little warlike community. Amongst them every individual, from a priest to a shepherd, is a soldier; no native of Montenegro appears abroad unaccompanied by arms and a fusil, and the Pachas of the adjoining districts of Scutari have often felt the force of their untamed and unyielding prowess. Fierce, vindictive, and sanguinary, they have been as yet untouched by the hand of civilization; and the only virtues they can boast, are those of savage life, patriotism, hospitality, and valour. Like the natives of all mountainous districts, their minds are strongly influenced by superstition; they believe in communications with the world of spirits, and fancy that the shades of their ancestors complain amidst the tempests that howl around their hills. Their origin is Sclavonic, and their religion that of the Greek communion.†

* Daru, vol. v. p. 187.

† See Malthe Brun, vol. vi.

Turks, supported by a fleet of one hundred sail. A. D. 1718.

It was in vain that the Senate now implored the alliance and protection of Europe; France, England, Holland, and Spain, refused to interfere farther than by demanding the liberation of the Venetian Ambassador, who had been, contrary to the practice of nations, seized at the commencement of hostilities;* and Austria offered her mediation, which was haughtily declined by the Sultan. The Knights of Malta, the Pope, and the Grand-Duke of Tuscany alone contributed to the defence of Greece; but their efforts were alike feeble and fruitless. John Delfino, the Proveditor of the Morea, was raised to the office of commander-in-chief; but with such a handful of troops it was ridiculous to attempt the protection of the entire territory. He at once abandoned the country to the devastations of the Turks, and, garrisoning a few of the principal fortresses, confined himself to their defence; but the time was long past when a little band of warriors was sufficient to repel a host of barbarians from the shores of Greece.

The first exploit of the Turks was the capture of Tinos, where the fleet halted after issuing from the Dardanelles. Balbi, the Governor, was too timid to attempt resistance: he paid no attention to the supplications of the wretched inhabitants, who besought

* Historical Register for 1716, p. 2.

A. D. 1714. him only to permit them to die with their swords unsheathed ; he delivered over the castle to the Capitan Pacha, and retired to perpetual imprisonment in Venice, whilst two hundred of the richest families of the island were carried off into slavery to the coasts of Africa. In the mean time, the army of Ali Coumourgi advanced upon Corinth. He appeared before it on the 20th of June, 1714, and on the 25th the remnant of the garrison capitulated : * one-half were butchered on the spot, and the remainder reserved in order to be beheaded beneath the walls of Napoli di Romania in sight of the Venetians. Egina was the next point of attack, and on its surrender the Turks advanced to the Hexamilion: the forts of the Venetians were a feeble barrier to their assaults ; they forced them almost without an effort, and entered Argos without the striking of a single blow. They were now within seven or eight miles of the capital ; and Napoli di Romania was invested and vigorously attacked in the beginning of July. Bono, the Governor, was prepared to make a strenuous resistance ; but treachery was superior to valour, and whilst the little garrison were prepared to die in the discharge of their duty, a traitor led the Vizier to

* An event which occurred during this siege has afforded a subject for Lord Byron's " Siege of Corinth."

an unprotected quarter of the walls: a Janissary ^{A. D. 1714.} crossed the fosse and scaled the battery, he opened the gate beneath the Palamede to his own companions, and in the silence of midnight they spread death and desolation throughout the devoted city.* The "Castle of the Morea," Modon and Malvasia, quickly yielded to the triumphing Ottomans, terror attacking alternately the troops or their governors; and in the space of one brief campaign, the entire Morea was re-conquered.† The fleets of Venice were of no avail for its protection; the panic-struck admiral led them from point to point, now pursued; and now pursuing, but in all alike inefficient. He saw Cerigo taken before his eyes; blew up

* On the wall which overlooks the harbour are still shown the ruins of the house of Sala, and in 1825 the child of a Greek pointed it out to me as a monument of a traitor.

The spirit of diplomatic treachery seems to have descended with their name to the offspring of this miscreant. A member of his family was, in 1792, the strenuous counselor of Ali Pacha in his meditated attack upon the Suliots. In recounting this affair, Mr. Eton mentions that, "it was discovered that the French Consul, M. de Sala, had advised the Pacha to get possession of Suli and Chimæra, as then he would have nothing to fear from the Porte, if he threw off all obedience, and that the French could then supply him with artillery, ammunition, &c. M. de Sala was one day shot dead in the street at Prevesa, by a Captain of Lambro's (Canziani) fleet."—Survey of the Turkish Empire, c. ix.

† Historical Register, 1716, p. 5.

A. D. 1715. the fortress of Santa Maura in lieu of defending it; and finally, without striking a blow, led back his despicable armament to the bay of Corfu.

The only spots in the Levant now remaining to Venice were the three fortresses in Candia, which she had retained at the capitulation in 1669. Suda and Spinalonga were defended by Magno and Justiniani; but they were deserted by the Senate, they received neither support nor supplies, and in November 1715, the blood-red flag of Mahomet was hoisted in the last hold which Christianity could boast in the *Ægean*. In all these disasters we find no traces of that valour which had characterized the defenders of Candia, no remnant of that fire which led the "Octogenarian" Doge to the conquest of Byzantium. Degenerate Venice, already merged in infamy, was quivering on the brink of ruin. She saw the Sultan at the entrance of the Adriatic; and the tardy, but timely interference of Austria, alone made a diversion in her favour, and drew off the attention of Turkey from the pursuit of foreign conquest, to the protection of her own dominions. Political motives, and a fear that the marriage of Philip V. might lead to the establishment of the House of Bourbon in Italy, led Charles VI. to adopt, at this crisis, the resolution of acceding to the pressing entreaties of

the Republic to lend them his assistance against the Turks. An offer of mediation was spurned at by the Divan; and, without delay, Prince Eugene was despatched into Hungary, at the head of a small but well-disciplined army, flushed with conquest in the Netherlands, and on the banks of the Rhine.* He passed the Danube, in sight of an Ottoman army of 150,000 men, encamped near Peterwaradin; and attacking the enemy without delay, slaughtered the Vizier and 30,000 Turks, and took, besides an immense booty, fifty standards and two hundred and fifty pieces of artillery. The capture of Temeswar, subsequently, secured the possession of the Bannat, and the conquest of Wallachia. In the same year, Corfu was attacked by Dianun Cogia, the Capitan Pacha; but the gallant Count Schullembourg being appointed its defender, the efforts of the Turks were unavailing. After numerous bloody but useless assaults, they were forced to withdraw; and Pisani, the Venetian admiral, who had succeeded the Captain General of the previous year, followed them with the united fleets. They reached Coron without an action, and shortly after returned, without making any farther attempt, to the Dardanelles. Imme-

A. D.
1716.A. D.
1716.

* Coxe's History of the House of Austria, vol. ii. p. 30, chap. iv.

A. D. 1716. diately on their departure, Schullembourg* passed over to Santa Maura and Butrinto, which surrendered to him without resistance. Early in 1717 hostilities recommenced, with equal ardour. Eugene invested Belgrade, which contained a garrison of 20,000 men; and the Venetians sent a squadron, under Luigi Flangini, to await the Ottoman fleet at the entrance of the Dardanelles. They met on the 16th of June, and victory again inclined to the Republic; the Turks were completely routed, and the death of the Venetian admiral alone saved them from extermination. Pisani now returned to assume the command in the Archipelago, whilst the countenance of Austria having induced other powers to join the coalition, the naval force of Venice included twenty-five vessels of its allies, in addition to those of the Senate. The two admirals encountered each other off the island of Cerigo, and after an engagement of eight hours, each retired with doubtful success; and Pisani returned to Corfu, in order to co-operate with Schullembourg in his farther designs on the

* In the square before the palace at Corfu there still remains a statue to the memory of this gallant officer, with the following inscription:—"Mathiæ Johanni, Comiti à Schullemburgio, summo terrestrium copiarum præfecto, Christianæ reipublicæ in Corcyræ obsidione fortissimo assertori, adhuc viventi, Senatus, anno MDCCXVII."

northern coasts of Greece. Prevesa and Vonizza were attacked and taken by the Venetians, whilst, about the same time, Eugene succeeded, after a perilous siege, in reducing Belgrade.* The Republic had now good hopes of being enabled to recover the Morea; but the Emperor had other views in a more distant quarter,† and was anxious to put an end to the war. Venice, of course, was highly averse to such a step, and was absolutely engaged in the siege of Dulcigno, in Albania, when the news arrived, that the Emperor had concluded the peace of Passarowitz, so called from a small town of Servia, where Eugene and the Grand Vizier opened the conferences and signed preliminaries on the 21st of July, 1718, under the mediation of the United Provinces and Great Britain. A. D.
1717.

Turkey, well aware of the inability of Venice to carry on the war after the defection of Austria, seemed determined to conclude a peace on terms the most advantageous to herself. At the commencement of the conference she even affected to refuse to treat with the plenipotentiaries of the Republic on *any* grounds; but the persuasions of Austria brought her to reason, and the articles were concluded. By these it was defined, that Venice was to yield up the A. D.
1718.

* Coxe, p. 33. vol. ii. cap. iv.

† See Daru, vol. v. p. 211.

A. D. 1718. Morea to the Sultan, together with Suda, Spinalonga, and Garabusa in Candia, and Tinos in the Ægean; in return for which, she was forced to content herself with the barren rock of Cerigo,* whilst in Albania, Butrinto, Parga, and Prevesa, composed her whole dominion, a stripe of about two leagues broad, by twenty in length.

We now bid "farewell, a long farewell," to Venice; from this hour she gradually sank from her seat amidst the nations of Europe. Her alliances, her commerce, her manufactures, her revenue, and above all, her political reputation, had deserted her; her national and constitutional virtue were alike lost in the filth of her venality, and the ruins of her power. For about half a century she continued to drag on a despised and degraded existence, till the overwhelming deluge of the French revolution swept her from the political map of the universe, leaving her blasted name alone as a beacon on the rock of corruption, as an index to tell to distant eras, and to future legislators, that the only basis of political permanence is individual probity; and that the abuses of power, and the arbitrary or mistaken restriction

* Vide *Daru*, vol. v. p. 213. *Thornton*, vol. i. p. 203. *Diedo*, *Storia Veneta*, vol. iv. p. 171. lib. v. *Coxe*, *Hist. House of Austria*, vol. ii. c. iv. *Perceval*, *Hist. Italy*, vol. ii. p. 608. c. xi. pt. i.

of a nation's freedom by its rulers, must end, as ^{A.D. 1718.} it has done with Venice, in corruption, in disunion, and decay.

It may not perhaps be considered uninteresting or irrelevant to introduce here a slight sketch of the Ionian Islands, and the fate of those points which remained in the hands of the Venetians after the peace of Passarowitz. These detached and insulated spots had ever been treated by Venice as conquests rather than dependencies;* whilst the miseries of mal-administration were aggravated by the corruptions attendant on a proconsular form of government. Occupied with vain attempts to retard the progress of ruin at home, the Senate was too busy, or too apathetic, to attend to the concerns of her colonies, where venality flourished in all the rank vigour of unscrutinized concealment, and petty tyranny revelled in the shade of distant and obscure vice-royalty. The Proveditorship of the islands was conferred solely on those whose family intrigues could triumph over rival factions; and the vitiated and luxurious nobility of Venice, only exchanged the delights of the capital for the solitudes of Corfu and Albania, with the hope of speedily returning to squander in profusion the sums acquired by exactive op-

* See *Kendrick's Ionian Islands*, p. 205. cap. xiv. and *Vaudancourt's Memoirs on the Ionian Isles*, cap. ii.

pression. Every situation of trust, from the palace to the Dogana, was held under a double salary, one post being the *certi* or fixed emolument, the other the *incerti* or perquisites; and instances are without end in which the former were ten degrees below the standard of the latter. When Schullembourg visited the dépôts of Corfu, he was astonished to find one man holding a situation of the utmost importance apparently *beyond control*; but he was still more surprised, on inquiring the amount of his income, to find it *six zechins* a month. "My friend," said the Marshal, "you should steal at least fifty more." The hint was needless, for the ill-paid storekeeper was the wealthiest man on the island.*

Continual oppression and acts of petty despotism in their rulers, operating on the mercurial and elastic spirits of the Greeks, naturally led to scenes of perpetual disunion and never-ending litigation, and laid the foundation for that trait of disaffection and turbulence, which still marks the character of the islanders.† Education was at a total stand, and a mistaken political theory induced the Venetians to pro-

* See No. lviii of the Quarterly Review for April 1823.

† "I have heard of an individual," says Mr. Goodison in his Essay on the Ionian Islands, "who was defendant in one hundred and fifty law-suits at one time!"

hibit the existence of any establishment for national instruction in her Septinsular possessions.* It was, in consequence, to Venice or Padua alone, that the young Greeks were forced to resort for instruction. Even under these circumstances, the youth of the islands might have been enabled to return with stores of information, such as could not fail to exalt the character of their countrymen; but the same vigilant despotism which forbade a home education, enforced the exclusion of every national feeling from a foreign one. The result was, that the Greek, as he advanced to manhood, had by custom and necessity become a Venetian alike in feeling and in habits; his native language was carefully excluded, not only from his studies, but from the national acts,† and the force of example and the influence of slavery were such, that towards the close of the Venetian dynasty, Greek was spoken only by the peasantry, and by the higher classes was solely used to command their domestics, whilst the young patrician would have blushed to address his compeer in the lan-

* Vaudancourt, cap. ii. p. 59.

† “ Malheureusement la langue des dominateurs est toujours en predilection auprès des sujets: les septinsulaires cultivèrent de bonne heure la langue Italienne, qui était celle du Gouvernement, et la langue Grecque fut réduite au rôle secondaire de patois méprisé.”—Rizo, *Cours de Littérature Grecq. Mod.* p. 131.

guage of his fathers. The immediate relations of society, too, suffered in the same proportion, and the advances of vice kept pace with the dominion of ignorance.* Cunning and chicanery naturally sprang from the grindings of

* This state of society may naturally be looked upon as the result of that line of worse than Machiavelian policy recommended to the Senate by their *Consultor* Sarpi, better known by the title of Father Paolo. In his directions and maxims for the government of Venice and her dependencies, he uses the following terms in adverting to her insular colonies.

“ For your Greek subjects of the island of Candia, and the other islands of the Levant, there is no doubt but there is some greater regard to be had of them, first, because that the Greek faith is never to be trusted ; and, perhaps, they would not much stick at submitting to the Turk, having the example of all the rest of the nation before their eyes. These, therefore, must be watched with more attention, lest, *like wild beasts, as they are*, they should find an occasion to use their teeth and claws. The surest way is, to keep good garrisons to awe them, and not use them to arms or musters, in hopes of being assisted by them in an extremity ; for they will always show ill inclinations proportionably to the strength they shall be masters of, they being of the nature of the galley slaves, who, if they were well used, would return the kindness by seizing the galley, and carry it and its commander to Algiers : wine and bastinadoes ought to be their share, and keep good-nature for a better occasion.

“ As for *the gentlemen* of those colonies, you must be very watchful of them ; for besides the natural ferocity of the climate, they have the character of noblemen, which raises their spirits, as the frequent rebellions of Candia do sufficiently evidence. If the gentlemen of these colonies do tyrannise

tyranny and the trickery of commerce, and murders and assassination became in some of the islands matters of daily occurrence.* Such

over the villages of their dominion, the best way is *not to seem to see it*, that there may be no kindness between them and their subjects; but if they offend in any thing else, 'twill be well to chastise them severely, that they may not brag of any privileges more than others. It will not be amiss, likewise, to dispute all their pretensions to any particular jurisdiction; and if at any time their nobility or title be disputed, it will do well to sell them the confirmation of it at as dear a rate as possible; and, in a word, remember that all the good that can come from them, is already obtained, which was to fix the Venetian dominion; and for the future, there is nothing but mischief to be expected from them."

Opinion of Padre Paolo of the Order of the Servites, Consultor of State, given to the Lords the Inquisitors of State, in what manner the Republic of Venice ought to govern themselves both at home and abroad, to have perpetual dominion. Delivered by public order in the year 1615: translated by W. Aglionby, 12mo. Lond. 1689.

* Under this faulty government, (the Venetian,) different factions arose in the islands. The petty insular aristocracy furnished individuals, who, by a more ample use of corruption, obtained local influence, and formed themselves into parties, which overawed the laws and oppressed the people. These parties opposed each other in some instances, even by a sort of trifling warfare; murders were extremely frequent, and the general state of society was depraved and corrupt. I have heard it stated on authority, that the number of assassinations in Zante has occasionally been more than *one* for each day in the year: a singular fact in a population of only 40,000 souls.—Dr. Holland's *Travels*, p. 23.

was the portrait of affairs, when, in 1797, the Republic of Venice became extinct, and at the treaty of Campo Formio, between the Austrians and France, the French Directory became possessed of the Ionian Islands, and their dependencies on the continent, Prevesa, Parga, Vonitza, Gomenitza, and Butrinto. An absolute and avowed democracy now succeeded to the aristocratic tyranny, under which the Septinsulars had been so long groaning; and General Gentili, attended by a military force, took possession of Corfu in the name of the Republic, and planted the tri-colour on the walls of the citadel. The earliest and the most strenuous efforts of the French were directed to secure the affections and elevate the character of the Ionians. Their language was restored, their religion was established, and their magistrates were chosen from the mass of the people, and no longer from the corrupted herd who surrounded the palace of the Proveditor. An active and well disciplined police put an end, in a great degree, to the continuance of assassination and civil tumults; and once again the streams of education were opened throughout the fields of Ionia. But this short era of comparative happiness was but too quickly to terminate; and the war which, in 1798, broke out between France and Turkey, drove the former from the Ionian Islands,

which were placed under the joint protection of the latter and of Russia, in the first year of the nineteenth century. The mutual jealousies of this ill-matched protectorate rendered it impossible that they should continue long in unison; eternal disturbances were fomented by the emissaries of the rival guardians,* and it was at last resolved that one of the protectors should resign, and that the choice of the permanent party should be left to the Greeks themselves, who decided on the Russians, and in 1802 were declared a free state, under the title of "*The Republic of the Seven Islands*," whilst their fortresses were garrisoned by the soldiers of the Emperor, the Venetian form of government was abolished, and a new constitution was promulgated under the auspices of Alexander.

Now left to themselves, the effects of this fatal experiment of premature independence became too soon, but fatally, apparent; the enfranchised slaves had merely the impulse to *abuse*, not the understanding to enjoy and to improve their opportunities and liberty. For a few months the Government struggled on amidst anarchy and bloodshed, speculation, poverty, and murder, till at length they were forced to resign their independence, and en-

* See Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, vol. i. p. 32.

treat a foreign power to withdraw from them that liberty which they were unable to use or to maintain. In August 1803, Naranzi, a Greek, was sent as a deputy to Alexander, to entreat him to interfere, and with an armed force put down the turbulence of the intoxicated Ionians. He was instructed to say, "That such were their perpetual misfortunes, that the people were disposed to receive, with blind resignation, whatever new constitution might proceed from the hand of Alexander; that they wished, in fact, that it should be the work of that '*admirable* person,' or, at any rate, of a 'single legislator;' and that it should be 'supported by an *imposing armed force*, to resist the obstinate, artful, and armed attempts that would be put farther in motion to subvert it:' that the natives themselves were unfit, from their known habits of insubordination and violence, to be loyal and obedient Republican soldiers; and that, if the troops could not be Russian, they must be foreigners of some other description: that to the Russian soldiers they were indebted for personal security and property; that they were solicited and longed for as a gift from Heaven; and that if they were to depart, it would involve their complete destruction, and leave no other alternative than that of drowning themselves in the

surrounding seas: that, in short, the inhabitants of the Seven Islands, who have thus attempted to establish a republican form of government, are neither born free, nor are they instructed in any art of government, nor are they possessed of moderation so as to live peaceably under any government formed by their own countrymen."* In consequence of this urgent and humiliating appeal, Count Mocenigo was despatched from St. Petersburg to heal their differences and restore tranquillity; from that period to the Peace of Tilsit, 1807, when by a private agreement the Islands were transferred by Alexander to Napoleon, the situation of affairs underwent but slight alteration. They were immediately occupied by General Berthier, and an army of 17,000 men was quartered in the various fortresses. It has been supposed that Bonaparte had his eye upon Turkey, and was struck with the convenient position of Corfu for a depôt; but be that as it may, his thoughts were never realized, and his ambitious restlessness found ample scope for action in the fields of Germany and the wilds of Russia.†

Berthier was shortly after succeeded in the command at Corfu by General Donzelot, who held the chief situation in the Ionian Isles

* Quarterly Review, No. lviii.

† Vaudancourt and Kendrick, p. 218.

during the seven succeeding years in which they remained under the dominion of France. England had long looked with an envious eye on these desirable Islands, which seemed only wanting to complete her line of depôts from Gibraltar to the frontiers of Turkey; and as a preparatory step to the acquisition of the whole, she ordered Paxo to be invested. One by one, she obtained possession of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, Cerigo, Santa Maura,* and the other islands; and ultimately the downfall of Napoleon led to the cession of Corfu and the investiture of England with the Protectorate of the whole, which was conferred on her at the Congress of Vienna, on the 5th November, 1815.†

But in the mean time the estates of Venice on the continent had been confiscated to Turkey. On the first commencement of the war between the Porte and France, in 1798, Ali Pacha, the celebrated Vizier of Epirus, had immediately seized that opportunity to wrest Prevesa, Butrinto, and Vonitza from the power of France, who then held the Ionian Islands; and when, in 1800, the Russians and Turks had succeeded in expelling the French, the same treaty which placed the Septinsular Republic under their joint protection, confirmed the possession of the territories on the continent

* 1809—10.

† Kendrick, p. 219.

to the Ottoman Porte.* In consequence of this treaty, Butrinto, Prevesa, and Vonitza, were occupied by Moslemin troops; whilst Parga, defended by a body of hardy Suliots, refused to submit, and for six months continued to exclude the proffered garrison of the Sultan. During the vicissitudes of the succeeding fourteen years, she persisted in a stern maintenance of her independence; whilst, conscious of her weakness, she applied for, and on each emergency obtained, the support and assistance of the Russians and the French. At length, in 1814, England had so far succeeded in the conquest of the Islands, that it became evident that France must soon prepare to evacuate the last of her fortresses; and the Parguinots, alarmed lest they should be again left to the mercy of Ali Pacha without an ally or a protector, applied through the commandant of Paxo to General Campbell, the British Commissioner at Zante, and entreated to be taken under the guardianship of England. Urged by that sympathy which ever attaches to bravery and misfortune, the British General undertook to comply with their re-

* De Bosset, p. 60. See the Convention between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Constantinople relative to the Ionian Islands and their dependencies, dated 21st March, 1800.

quest, though his acquiescence was a virtual infringement on the territory of Turkey, in consequence of the treaty of 1800. A regiment was ordered to Paxo, in order to be sent across the strait at the shortest notice; conferences were held with the deputies of Parga, a British flag was privately conveyed into the town, and immediately on its being hoisted on the citadel, the English troops were landed; they obtained instant possession of every point, and the garrison of the French being conveyed to the beach, were then, by their own request, transported to Corfu.

From this period, (March 1814,) till the beginning of the year 1817, Parga continued to be garrisoned by English soldiers: a sense of gratitude had strongly united the people and their defenders; and under the powerful arm of Great Britain, the trade and agriculture of the little state continued to experience a prosperity they had never known before. But when the treaty of Paris was signed, which fixed the destinies of the adjacent islands, and when they found no mention made of Parga in its details, their former terrors returned, and they saw but too plainly that they were now about to be abandoned to their fate. They instantly despatched a deputation to Sir Thomas Maitland, who had succeeded General Campbell

in the command ; and in all the agony of anxious solicitude, implored him to tell them the lot which was assigned them. The Lord High Commissioner was, however, too much occupied to attend to their petition, and left the island without returning an answer. For nearly a year they were forced to remain in doubt and uncertainty ; and when, in December 1816, Sir Thomas returned, the only reply which he vouchsafed to their demands, was that he had received no instructions on the head of Parga, but should any arrive he would communicate them without delay. In the mean time, however, the Vizier of Epirus was plotting for their overthrow ; Parga had ever been one of the dearest objects of his ambition, and the moment was now arrived to secure its possession. His emissaries at the Porte represented to the Divan the glaring infringement committed on its rights by England holding forcible tenure of a fortress long since assigned to Turkey ; and urged, at the same time, the importance of Parga as one of the barriers of the Ottoman empire on the confines of Europe. His intrigues were successful, and the Porte assented to the articles of the convention of Paris, solely on the stipulated terms of being placed in instant possession of her usurped and violated territory. It was finally resolved that this cruel alternative should

be adopted, and the commissioners of Turkey and England met at the residence of Ali Pacha at Ioannina. Some time was spent in useless discussions of terms and preliminaries, but at length all was concluded, and it was announced to the Parguinots that they must prepare to surrender. Those who chose to remain in the city, were left to follow their own wishes ; and those who preferred emigration to the Islands, were to be indemnified for the lands and property they abandoned. Expostulations and entreaties were alike unavailing ; the policy of Europe required the sacrifice of Parga, and the wretched citizens prepared to abandon their devoted home : to a man they resolved to seek new settlements beyond the reach of the Vizier and the Sultan, and 150,000*l.* was the sum stipulated to be paid them as the price of their possessions. It was on the 19th of March, 1819, that the emigration commenced. The morning was spent in tears and vain regret, in hurrying from scene to scene to bid a last farewell to the home of their childhood, and weep above those spots endeared by the fondest recollections ere they abandoned them to the foe and the spoiler. The vineyards and the olive-groves which had been so long the support of their fathers, and the objects of their own solicitude, they tore up by the roots, and bore their

branches to the summit of the rocks on which their city was built: with these they raised a funeral pile of a towering height, and placed upon its summit the disinterred bones of their ancestors, and the dust of families long since extinct. At length the fatal moment arrived; they set fire to the mournful pile, and, descending to the beach, embarked on board the transports prepared for their reception, whilst the light of the funereal flame which consumed the bones of their fathers shone high above the walls of their beloved and deserted Parga. On the same evening, the soldiers of Ali were quartered in the fortress; the Sultan took possession of the last envied point which he had longed for; and the ambition of the Vizier and the destruction of Parga, were consummated together.

From 1815 to the present, the government of the Ionian Islands has remained under the protection of Great Britain, whose troops, to the amount of 30,000, (as fixed by the constitution,) are quartered in the several towns and districts. The wise precautions taken by the Senate and the Lords High Commissioners, who have resided successively among them, have been long since successful in suppressing insubordination and murder, and establishing perfect security, both as regards the lives and

property of the Ionians. New roads have been constructed in every island;* moles, harbours, and public edifices have been built in every spot which required their establishment; and throughout the entire republic all is harmony, happiness, and prosperity; their trade encreasing, and education making rapid progress amongst those who but half a century before were debarred *in toto* from its blessings.†

* See Hughes's Travels, vol. i. p. 148.

† For particulars regarding the history and present condition of the Ionian Islands, see Memoirs on the Ionian Islands by Gen. Vaudancourt; Parga and the Ionian Islands, by Col. De Bosset; Goodison's Historical and Topographical Essay; Blaquiere's publications on Greece; Bory de St. Vincent, Histoire, &c. des Isles Ioniennes; The Ionian Islands, by T. T. C. Kendrick; Horæ Ionicæ, by W. R. Wright; Dr. Holland's Travels; Dodwell's Tour through Greece, &c.

CHAPTER IX.

Political condition of the Greeks under the Ottomans.

SUCH are the details of the last revolution of Greece;* from that period to the present, she has remained the abject, but not unresisting, vassal of the Sultan, whilst the timid commiseration, or heartless policy of her friends, has, on several occasions, led her into tumults and rebellion, which have only terminated in abandonment and bloodshed, or served more firmly to rivet her chains, and excite the vengeance of her irritated tyrants. But before resuming the tale of her active, but unfortunate attempts, it may be as well to cast a hasty glance over the pages of her passive suffering; and briefly recount the nature of that oppression which has degraded her children, embittered her existence, and driven her to rebellion. From the first subjection of Greece to Turkey, down to the beginning of the Eighteenth century, little or nothing was known of her political or geo-

* See p. 253.

graphical situation; the consciousness of the barbarity exercised by her conquerors seemed to have engendered throughout Europe an idea of her virtual annihilation, and during this long and dreary epoch scarcely one passing traveller has visited her shores to investigate her ruins, or returned to tell the tale of her misery.

After the work of Kraus,* to which I have already alluded, one of the earliest travellers on the shores of Greece, was Henri Baron de Beauveau, a French gentleman, who had served in the wars of Hungary against the Sultan, first under Rodolf II., and again, in 1595, in the army of the Prince of Mansfeld. He had finally accompanied the Duke de Mercœur, who in 1601 took command of the army of the Emperor Rodolf, against the Infidels; and after the successful issue of that campaign, he employed himself in making a tour of a part of Europe, Asia, and northern Africa.† His Travels he published on his return;‡ and the first book of six which they contain refers to his coasting voyage of Albania and the eastern shore of the Adriatic, his visit to Corfu, Cepha-

* See p. 199.

† Biog. Univ.

‡ “Relation Journalière du Voyage du Levant faict et décrit par Haut et puissant Seigneur *Henry de Beauveau*, Baron du dict lieu et de Manonville, Seigneur de Fleuille, Sermaise, Domepure, &c. À Nancy, A. D. 1619.”

lonia, Zante, &c. a short excursion to the Morea, and his passage thence by Cerigo and the Archipelago to Constantinople. The information conveyed is, however, very circumscribed; a few words, which I have already quoted, refer to the powers and revenue of the Moreot Sangiac, and some disjointed sentences are indicative of the wretchedness and sufferings of the Greeks under their taskmasters. His volume, however, serves to show the utter ignorance then prevailing, regarding even the geography of the subjugated peninsula, when we find the author speaking of leaving Napoli di Romania behind him, on coming from Modon to Cape Matapan!*

The next accounts of Greece or Athens were those communicated by Louis Baron de Courmemin, more generally known by the name of Deshayes.† This nobleman, son to the Governor of Montargis, was page, and afterward counsellor and maître d'hôtel ordinaire to Louis XIII., who in 1621 sent him on a mission to the Levant. His object was to arrange the disputes between the Cordeliers and the

* P. 21.

† See D'Anville, Duval's Atlas, Chateaubriand, &c. &c. The latter erroneously calls him "*le premier voyageur moderne qui nous ait parlé de la Grèce proprement dite.*"—(Vol. i. p. 54.)

Armenians, regarding the possession of certain sacred spots in the Holy Land, to establish a consul at Jerusalem for the execution of the Sultan's orders in favour of the Christians, and to present to the Holy Sepulchre, in the name of the King, a chapel of silver, whose decorations were beyond conception costly and gorgeous.* After his return from his mission, the journal of his secretary was published, in 1624, by order of the King.† The original edition contained little that regarded the Greeks, except some general observations on the peculiarities of their worship,‡ and their political degradation;§ but in a second, which appeared in 1629, the author announces some fresh observations, made during a third voyage to Constantinople by way of Greece. These, which are not in every case correct, refer principally to the topography of Attica and the ruins of Athens,|| whose inhabitants, he observes, though reduced to miserable remnants, were treated by the Turks with barbarous severity.

“Quant aux habitans du pays, ce sont tous Grecs, qui sont cruellement et barbarement traités par les Turcs qui y demeurent, encore

* Biog. Univ.

† “Voyage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy, en l'Année 1621, par le Sr. D. D. A Paris, 1624.”

‡ Pp. 118, 119.

§ P. 343.

|| Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 54.

qu'ils soient en petit nombre. Il y a un cadi qui rend la justice, un prévôt appelé *soubachy*, et quelques janissaires qui l'on y envoie de la Porte de trois mois en trois mois."*

After the publications of these individuals, a number of minor notices appeared in Europe, chiefly transmitted by the missionaries of the French Jesuits, who first established themselves in Athens about the year 1645, and were followed, in 1658, by those of the Capuchins.†

* See Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 57.

† A member of the latter body, Father Simon, purchased, in 1669, the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, (better known by the title of the Lantern of Demosthenes,) which adjoins the convent of the order.

" Le matin du 24 Avril nous allâmes entendre la messe du Père Simon de Compiègne, à l'Hospice des Capucins, qui sont presentement en possession de la Mission d'Athènes. Le Père Barnabé de Paris, qui demeure à Napoléon de Romanie, en est le Supérieur. Le Père Simon a pris pour son Hospice un edifice de marbre blanc, qui est petit, mais d'une structure delicate. Meursius n'y pas un Auteur ancien n'en ont parlé. Le vulgaire l'appelle indifferemment de deux noms. *To Phanari tou Demosthenis*, et *to Palati tou Demosthenis*, tantost la Lanterne de Demosthène, tantost son Palais. Les Atheniens qui vous en parlent n'oublient jamais de vous dire ce que rapporte Plutarque de l'épaisseur de langue qui ostoit à Demosthène la liberté et la grace de la prononciation. Ils veulent que ce soit là que ce fameux orateur se mettoit de petits cailloux dans la bouche pour dégager sa langue et former sa voix. Le travail du Phanari et ses basses tailles sont admirables.

The contents of these were, however, meagre and imperfect ;* and down almost to the close of the Seventeenth century, the general impression prevalent in Europe was, that Athens was a mass of ruins, and that the Greeks, if not exterminated, were sunk beyond the reach of pity, or the hope of revival. The shores of Attica were only occasionally visited by the ships of Venice for the purchase of honey or of oil ; but no feeling in its favour had as yet

“ Le Père Simon l'achepta d'un Grec qui le vendit cent cinquante écus ; mais un moment après il fit une chicane au Père, et ne luy voulut point livrer le Phanari, disant qu'il venoit d'apprendre que par les coutumes d'Athènes un estranger ne pouvoit pas posséder une antiquité de la ville, et que la coutume se fondeoit sur l'apprehension que l'estrange ne s'en servist à quelque usage capable de la détruire. Le Père eut beau repliquer qu'il n'estoit plus estranger : et en effet il s'est fait recevoir citoyen d'Athènes, et en a eu des lettres, pour aller au devant de pareilles discussions. Il fallut que la cause fust plaidée devant les Vecchiados, qui condamnèrent le Capucin ; mais il en appella au Cadi, qui luy en attribua la jouissance, à condition pourtant de ne point endommager le Phanari, et ordre de le montrer aux curieux qui le voudroient voir. Ce qui témoigne l'estat qu'on fait encore des antiquitez à Athènes. Mais le Père par prudence, ne voulant pas effaroucher les Atheniens, et taschant de ménager leur amitié par des complaisances raisonnables, transféra dans une Salle basse son Autel et sa chapelle, qui estoient dans le Phanari.”—*De la Guilletiere Athènes, &c.* p. 222, et seq.

* The most comprehensive was that of Père Babin, (See note p. 279.)

been raised in Europe, nor had one intelligent traveller appeared to excite the curiosity, or arouse the sympathy of Christendom.

At length, in the year 1668, De La Guilletiere, an enterprising Frenchman, returning from four years slavery on the coast of Barbary, arrived at Athens in company with some Germans and Italians, and an Englishman,* named

* The earliest, or *one* of the earliest, English travellers in Greece, was George Sandys, son to the Archbishop of York, and translator of "Ovid's Metamorphoses."† He visited

† Previously to the publication of Sandys' volumes, there had appeared "The Rare and most Wonderful Things which Edward Webbe, an Englishman borne, hath scene and passed in his troublesome Travailles in the cities of Jerusalem, Damasko, Bethlem, and Galely: and in the Lands of Jewrie, Egypt, Grecia, Russia, and Prester John. Wherein is set forth his extreame Slaverie, sustained many yeares together, in the Gallies and Warres of the Great Turke, against the lands of Persia, Tartaria, Spaine, and Portogale, with the Manner of his Releasement, and coming into England, in May last." It is inscribed, and accompanied by a dedicatory acrostic, "To the Most M^{aj}ty, my Gracious and Renowned Sovereigne Elizabeth, &c." and is "Printed in London, by A. J. for William Barley, dwelling in Gracious-street, neere Leadenhall," 4to. pp. 55. The volume of this primitive explorer is admirably calculated to give countenance to the proverb against *voyagers' tales*; and in his descriptions he has availed himself liberally of his traveller's licence. His work, however, contains no other allusion to Grecia than a slight mention of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Grand Cairo.

Drelingston; and the publication of his travels at Paris, in 1675, first drew the atten-

the Levant in 1610, and in 1615 published his *Travels*, which, though pretty copious in their details of Turkey, contain but little information with regard to Greece. His account of the Ionian Islanders and the Zantiots, in particular, represents them as degraded in the extreme; and of the Greeks in general he observes, "that now their knowledge is converted, as I may say, into affected ignorance (for they have no schooles of learning amongst them), and their liberty into contented slavery, having lost their minds with their empire. For so base they are, as thought it is, that they had rather remaine as they be, than endure a temporary trouble, by prevailing succours; but would, with the Israelites, repine at their deliverers. Long after the losse of their other vertues, they retained their industry, * * * but now, they delight in ease, in shades, in dancing, and drinking: and no further, for the most part, endeavour their profit, than their bellies compell them. They are generally taxed by the stranger Christians of perfidiousnesse, inso-much as it is growne into a proverbe, *Chi fida in Grego, sara intrigo*, in them more anciently noted.

—— "Nondum Græcis jurare paratis
Per caput alterius.—Juv. Sat. 6.

"By others heads the Grecians were
Lesse prone themselves then to forswear.

An oath in use at this day, as it is with the Turke when he most desireth to be beleaved. Nor will they themselves trust any, whereof comes that other proverbe:

"Mercari Græca fide.

"To trade with Grecian trust.

which is, not to part with their wares without money."

* * * * *

tion of tourists to the remains of Ancient Greece.*

"I need not speak of the excellency of their primitive language. But now the Grecians themselves (except some few) are ignorant therein ; it being called the Latine Greeke, and is a language peculiar to the learned. Yet the vulgar Greeke doth not differ so far from the same, as the Italian from the Latine : corrupted not so much by the mixture of other tongues, as through a supine retchlesnesse. In some places they speak it more purely than in others. For the boyes of Pera will laugh, when they heare the more barbarous dialect of other maritime Grecians. And there be yet of the Laconians that speake so good Greeke (though not grammatically,) that they understand the learned, and understand not the vulgar. Their Liturgy is read in the ancient Greeke, with not much more profit, perhaps, to the rude people than Latine Service of the Romish Church to the illiterate Papists."—*Sandys' Travels*, Lond. fol. 1615, p. 76, *et seq.*

* With regard to the authenticity of De la Guilletiere's statements, there appears to be some difficulty ; and a severe attack has been made upon him by Spon, who visited Athens about seven years after the date of his travels in Attica. The two works which have the name of De la Guilletiere, were written (or as he himself professes, *edited*) by George Guillet de St. George, native of Thiers, in Auvergne, and author of several volumes connected with History and the Fine Arts. He states in his Preface, that the information contained in them was collected by his brother, of whom he gives the following account : — Il est né en Auvergne, et ayant quitté ses études pour porter les armes, il fut blessé dangereusement à la fameuse déroute des Espagnols devant Casal ; estant cavalier dans le regiment de Canillac. Il ne laissa pas de faire encore plusieurs campagnes en Piemont et en Catalogne, et fut mesme chercher la guerre en Hongrie, où

He was immediately followed by Sir George Wheler, an Englishman, who, accompanied by

les Turcs l'ayant fait prisonnier le vendirent ensuite à un Corsair de Thunis. Au sortir d'esclavage, il a particulièrement voyagé dans la Grèce, d'où il a continué de visiter le Levant." "The notes of these Travels," continues Guillet, "he transmitted to me, and by the assistance of the works of Meursius and others, they now appear in their present amplified form."*

This publication was attacked by Spon, whose Notes on Greece were in turn abused by Guillet: a lengthened controversy ensued, in which Spon attempted to impugn the authenticity of his rival, and both succeeded in attaching the charge of numerous inaccuracies to the production of each other. This dispute seems to have divided the scavans as to the merit of De la Guilletiere. Bayle gives unqualified praise to both his "Athens" and "Lacedemone;" but Chateaubriand denominates the one a blundering romance, and pronounces the other a continuation of his "former lies."† The only charge substantiated by Spon is one that Guillet himself admits, namely, that he was not himself at Athens; and whether his information was supplied by his brother, or (as his antagonist asserts) by the Jesuit missionaries, can be of little importance, as far as its correctness is concerned. His volumes, no doubt, contain numerous errors, but so do those of his accuser; and decidedly the style of the narrative of the first is infinitely superior to the details contained in the pages of the second.‡ Guillet has likewise the merit of precedency, as

* Preface to *Athènes Ancienne et Nouvelle*.

† *Itineraire*, &c. vol. i. p. 60 and 62.

‡ Spon had before this published a description of Athens, under precisely the same circumstances as Guillet. He had

Dr. Spon, an intelligent physician of Lyons, made, in 1675-6, a visit to Attica, and printed, on his return, a description of the antiquities, which still serves as a valuable guide to the travellers of the present day. The reports of Paul Lucas, in 1704, are neither worthy of credit nor comment; those of Pellerin,* in 1718, are valuable only for their details of the Venetian war, three years previously; and Pococke, who visited Greece in 1739, has added little or nothing to the stock of information then extant regarding it. At length, in 1751, Mr. Stuart,

it regards Spon, and his work is entitled to some sympathy at the present day, as having been the first to direct the attention of English travellers to Athens. He was quickly followed by Sir George Wheeler, in 1675; and in 1676, by the Earl of Winchelsea, then ambassador to the Porte from the Court of London, who visited the neglected city, and carried away with him some valuable remnants of its ancient Sculptures.

* Relation du Voyage du Sieur Pellerin dans la Royaume de Morea.—*See Chateaubriand.*

received the account which it contained from M. L. Abbayé Pecoils, Chanoine de l'Eglise Collegiate de St. Just à Lyon, to whom it had been transmitted by "une personne de mérite qui y a fait quelque séjour."—His title is *Relation de l'état present de la Ville d'Athènes Ancienne, Capitale de la Grèce bâtie depuis 3400 ans &c. &c. à Lyon, A.D. M.DC.LXXIV.*; and its author was Le Père Babin, a missionary of the Jesuits. It contains the most perfect account of Athens which, up to that period, had appeared.

Mr. Revett, Mr. Pars, and Dr. Chandler, resumed the subject; and their ponderous and erudite dissertations and reports form a body of information, unequalled by their predecessors, and unrivalled by the works of any subsequent investigators. From their united testimony, and that of their late followers, I shall now endeavour to compile a slight sketch of the situation of Greece, and of Athens, from the close of the Seventeenth century to the period of her first attempt to cast off the yoke of the Ottomans.

With regard to the *local government* of the Turks, our early European documents supply but meagre details. From the Greeks we have derived no information; since ignorance or shame forbade them to chronicle the tale of their own debasement; and the works of the Turkish historians pass over *in toto* the statistics and policy of the empire, whilst they abound with romances concerning the prowess and victories of their Sultans, enumerate the forces of Constantinople, or record the pomps of the seraglio and the amusements of the Grand Seignor.* The travellers I have mentioned, speak merely in general terms of the misery of the nation, or recount the suffering of peculiar districts; and the only important conclusion deducible

* Rizo, Introd. His. Mod. Gr. p. 4.

from their memoirs is, that the system adopted by Mahomet II. towards the Greeks, continued with slight variations, but no important change, to be acted upon by his successors. The entire territory was by him divided into military departments, denominated Pachalics, with subdivisions of Moussemlics, Agalics, and Vaivodalics;* and all were nominally subject to a supreme magistrate, who, with the title of Roumeli Valesi, was grand-judge of all Roumelia.

With regard to rank, the Pachas, of course, held the priority, though the importance of each depended rather on the extent of his territory than the dignity of his title. All were originally independent of one another, and, holding their command directly from the crown, acknowledged a responsibility to no other authority; but in reality, they became in general the mere creatures of the Pachas, who possessed, in numerous instances, the power of creating or revoking their appointments.† This system was not, however, uniform throughout;

* *Vaivode*, βασιβόδα, is a title of Slavonic origin, assumed by Rhaddo Negro, or Rodolph the Black, a Wallachian Prince, in the time of the Lower Empire.‡ It was originally applied to generals alone.—See Thornton, vol. ii. p. 338. Walsh's Journey from Constantinople to England, p. 267, &c.

† Carrel, Thornton, vol. i. p. 156.

‡ About A.D. 1241.

in some instances, (as that of Maina,) whole districts had preserved a species of independence, and in others the protection afforded to the inhabitants by the mountainous nature of their country, had secured for them a modification of the tyranny of their rulers.* In addition to this, the turbulence and ambition of these Pachas were continually involving them in wars with each other, which were constantly productive of fluctuations in the number and importance of the several governments.†

Under these circumstances it is almost im-

* Leake, *Hist. Outline Gr. Revol.* p. 14. Rizo, p. 73.

† Take, for example, the account of Albania by Hobhouse. "Specimens of almost every sort of government are to be found in Albania. Some districts and towns are commanded by one man, under the Turkish title of Bolu Bashee, or the Greek name of Capitan, which they have borrowed from Christendom; * others obey their elders; others are under no subjection, but each man governs his own family. The power in some places is in abeyance, and although there is no apparent anarchy, there are no rulers. This was the case in our time at the large city of Argyro Castro. There are parts of the country where every Aga or Bey, which, perhaps, may answer to our ancient country squire, is a petty chieftain exercising every right over the men of the village. The Porte, which in the days of Ottoman greatness, divided the country into several small Pashalics and commanders, is now but little respected, and the limits of her different divisions are confused and forgotten."

* Paolo Ramusio derives Captain from the Greek *Καπετάν*.

possible, and, in reality, unimportant to attempt an enumeration of the several divisions at various periods; but a general idea of the system may be formed from the situation of Greece in 1812. It then consisted of five Pachalics, two Vaivodalics, and an infinite number of governments entrusted to officers of inferior rank.* Of these the chief was that of Ioannina or *Albania*, which was held by Ali Pacha. It extended over Epirus, Acarnania, Ætolia, Phocis, the greater part of Thessaly, the southern division of Illyricum, and the western divisions of Macedonia and Boeotia; and included those territories which formerly constituted the Pachalics of Lepanto, Arta, Ioannina, Delvino, Ochrida, and Avlona, the Moussemlic of Larissa, and several towns and small districts governed by Beys, Agas, and Vaivodes.† That of *Scutari* consisted of the country watered by the Drino, a part of the ancient Illyricum. Those of *Salonica* and *Negropont* included the portions of Macedonia not submitted to Ali, the east of Boeotia, and the Isle of Eubœa. Attica and Livadia were each under the command of a Vaivode. Zagora, or Magnesia, was entrusted to the administration of a Greek pri-

* For a prior enumeration in 1797, see Beaujour, Letter i. Hobhouse, vol. i. p. 164.

† See Suppl. Ency. Brit. art. Greece.

mate; and the North of Macedonia was broken up into numerous Agalics and petty departments. The Morea, with the exception of Maina, was submitted to the Pacha of *Tripolizza*;* under whom were the Beys of Modon, Coron, Navarino, Patras, Gastouni, Corinth, Argos, and, nominally, Mistra, together with numerous inferior chiefs.† The principal islands and some districts on the coast were assigned to the Capitan Pacha, who made an annual visit to receive their tribute; and the remainder were in the hands of the Divan, and some dependent Pachalics.

In this disposition of the government, two grand causes of corruption served to entail perpetual misery on the Greeks: one, the venality with which the different officers obtained their respective commands, and the consequent extortion by which they were forced to indemnify themselves for the purchase of their respective appointments;‡ and the other, the frequent

* In time of war a pacha of two tails resided at Napoli di Romania.—Pouqueville, Tr. Morea. † Ibid.

‡ “La Porte rend ordinairement *au plus offrant* les pachaliks, les mousselmiks; et quelquefois elle les donne à la faveur.”—Beaujour, Let. i. Rabbe, p. 112.

“It is a fact of public notoriety, that governments of every description are sold at the Porte: they are held for the term of one year only: and at the ensuing Bairam, the leases must be

mutations and displacement of the Turkish functionaries, which, by vesting the political power in the hands of a succession of strangers, tended to check all sympathy which long association might have engendered between the subjects and the rulers, and to destroy any stake or interest in the country which a permanent residence might have given them.*

The precarious nature of their tenure, and the rigid punctuality of the Porte in exacting the stipulated sum agreed on as the purchase of their office,† compelled the Pachas to active and determined vigilance in the collection of their dues; and provided the usual amount of revenue was regularly transmitted to the capital, no questions were made as to the mode or justice of its collection.‡ In their own dominion the power of the Pachas was absolute, and cases of

renewed or transferred to a *less parsimonious* competitor."—Thornton's Turkey, vol. i. p. 162.

* Rabbe.

† "On sçait que les vicerois, pachas, gouverneurs des places et autres officiers de l'empire Ottoman, sont des fermiers qui sous peine d'envoyer leurs têtes au tresor royal sont obligez d'y faire remettre les sommes dont ils sont convenus avec le grand Visir. On ne reçoit point d'excuse sur cela. Il faut trouver de l'argent n'en fut-il point; et comme leur vie et leur fortune dependent de leur exactitude à payer, ils mettent tout en usage pour en venir à bout."—D'Arvieux, t. iii. p. 99.

‡ Thornton.

life or death were decided by their individual fiat. Their state was maintained with the pomp of eastern monarchs, and the number of their attendants and guards amounted in occasional instances to thousands.* The revenues arose from certain lands assigned for their exclusive maintenance, from imposts on the villages and towns of their districts, from *avania*† and casual extortion, and from taxes on the property and produce of the Greeks. Their wealth was usually immense, and the moderation of one individual is commemorated by his historian, whose expenditure did not exceed 360,000 piastres per annum;‡ whilst on the other hand, the jurisdiction of Ali Pacha extended over 400 villages, from which his annual income exceeded 200,000 pounds.

The power of the Beys and Agas was similar to that of the superior Pachas, though considerably modified;§ and the whole body was one mutually dependent system of active and un-

* Thornton, Pouqueville, Tr. Mor. &c. † See p. 294.

‡ Beaujour, vol. i. p. 47. One of their sources of revenue was a sum demanded under the name of *tooth-money*, to remunerate the Pacha and his suite for the fatigue in eating the repasts prepared for them by the Greeks during their expeditions to collect their taxes.

§ Pouqueville, Tr. Mor. ch. x.

controlled oppression, from whose inflictions there was no shelter, and from whose decisions there was no appeal.

Maina, to the independence of which I have already alluded, had succeeded from an early period in rejecting and setting at defiance the officers of the Porte; but even with this immunity the situation of its inhabitants was abject in the extreme. At the period when they were visited by De la Guilletiere,* their affairs were conducted by the *gerontes* or elders, elected by themselves; and the residence of the Bey and his inferior Aga, Vaivodes, Mollah, and so forth, was more for the form of subjection than the reality of authority. Poverty reigned ruthlessly amongst them; their slender earnings were swallowed up by taxes and the *karatch*, which they paid for their children from the moment of their birth, not, as in other quarters of Greece, from their arrival at a certain age:† money was almost

* Lacedemone Anc. et Nouv. vol. ii. p. 490.—“The Morea was at this time an appanage of the Sultana Validè, or mother of the reigning prince, who conferred its government on the principal secretary of the seraglio, under the title of Sangiac of the Morea. His ordinary residence was at Patras, and under him the inferior officers held their delegated authority.” vol. i. p. 73.

† Eleven, or, according to others, fifteen years.

unknown, and an interchange of produce was the usual means of procuring the necessities of life.

This state of destitution was the cause of that debasement of the national character by which they were so long stigmatized ; and the attempted tyranny of their rulers operating on minds naturally and habitually intoxicated with a love of freedom, gave to their habits that tinge of ferocity, which was their most fearful trait. Up to the period of 1776, they continued to maintain their virtual independence ; but their country being then overrun by the celebrated Gazi Hassan, they came to terms with the Turks, were placed under the authority of the Capitan Pacha, and obtained an exemption from the karatch. They possessed the privilege of choosing from themselves a Bey, whose nomination was confirmed by the Porte, to whom he was held accountable for his administration. But even after this revolution, their affairs continued to be conducted by their own elders, and the power of the Bey was a mere shadow ; he was exposed to the danger, without enjoying the dignity of his office, and shared the hatred and suspicion of his countrymen, without securing the friendship or confidence of the Ottomans. Wealth keeping pace with liberty, the resources of the Mainotes became rapidly im-

proved ; the synod of the primates conducted every levy for the protection and defence of their territory ; and in the course of twenty years, so far from trafficking in produce, the peasantry were in possession of pecuniary resources infinitely more than sufficient for the supply of all their necessities.*

I have noticed in a preceding page,† the comparative happiness and freedom of the Greek islanders, owing to the non-residence of Turks amongst them. Of the islands of the *Ægean*, including the *Sporades*, the greater number belonged to the Capitan Pacha. His influence extended over *Amorgo*, *Anaphé*, *Argentiera*, *Colouri*, *Carso*, *Egina*, *St. Elia Dromi*, *Ipsara*, *Hydra*, *Mycone*, *Milo*, *Nio*, *Naxos*, *Paros*, *Antiparos*, *Poros*, *Patmos*, *Policandro*, *Santorin*, *Stampalia*, *Skyro*, *Sikino*, *Siphno*, *Serpho*, *Spez-zia*, *Scopelo*, *Skiatho*, *Thermia*, *Trickari*, *Zea*, and *Anghistri*.

Andros, *Scio*, *Syra*, and *Tino* were the property of the *Zarabhana Emini*, or Steward of the Mint ; *Nicaria* and *Samos* of the Mufti ; and *Cos*, *Candia*, *Cyprus*, *Imbros*, *Lemnos*, *Mitylene*, *Tenedos*, *Thasos*, *Rhodes*, *Carpathos*, *Castelorizo*, *Calymno*, *Lero*, *Nisara*, *Scarpanto*, and *Syme*, were allotted to other dependencies of

* Pouqueville, ch. ix. x. † P. 179.

the government.* The annual amount of taxation from the whole was about 300,000 piastres, or 75,000 pounds sterling; and the periodical visits of the Capitan Pacha for the purpose of collecting it, were events of terror to the Greeks, who were then subjected to every species of rapine and insult from the sailors of the Turkish fleet.†

From the imperfect nature of all statistical returns connected with the Ottoman empire, it is impossible to form any accurate estimate of either the population or *revenue* of its provinces. That of particular districts in Greece has been ascertained with tolerable precision;

* The seven last mentioned belonged to the Pacha of Rhodes; for the list, see Turner's Tour in the Levant.

† The Capitan Pacha, or Grand Admiral, is Pacha of the Archipelago; and the fleet, or a division, goes annually to collect the tribute: it is then that the poor Greeks most feel the iron sceptre that governs them, and all the insults and oppressions of the vile satraps of the tyrant. When a ship of the fleet arrives in a port, all the people who can, fly to the mountains, or into the country; others shut themselves up in their houses, without daring to stir out. Every one in the roads is plundered by the sailors and soldiers of the ships, and if they are not cut, or wounded by a pistol-ball, or killed outright, they esteem themselves happy; even in the streets it is the same, &c.—Eton, Survey Turk. Emp. c. viii. p. 277. Such is the report of Mr. Eton, which, however, together with all his assertions regarding the Greeks, must be taken *cum grano*.

but even hence we can deduce no positive inference as to the whole, since the mode of taxation, as well as the expenses attendant on its collection, varied considerably in almost every province. Including every probable item, however, the imposts of the Divan, and the extortions of its collectors, the entire sum exacted from the inhabitants would probably amount to nearly two millions sterling,* of which one half may be supposed to reach the treasury of the Porte.† The sources whence this arose were very various; nor was the imposition of taxes calculated by the Ottomans with that regard to equalization and the mitigation of their injurious effects on industry, which characterises the financial systems of Europe. They were originally levied by the agency of the sword; and custom confirming the enactments of despotism, they remained almost to the present day nearly the same as in the reign of their institutors.

The most annoying was the *karatch*, or capitation-tax, levied on all males above a certain age: which varied in particular provinces in the mode of its imposition, and as to its amount, professed to be regulated by the wealth of the subject. In some it was collected from all above

* See Supplement to Ency. Brit.

† Pouqueville, c. x. Thornton, c. vi.

the age of five years, and in others from those of eight, twelve, and even fifteen ;* whilst thirteen piastres were demanded in some cases, and in others merely four.† On the whole, the sum extorted was by no means so great a source of discontent as the mode in which it was levied : two pounds sterling were usually sufficient to defray the demands for an entire family,‡ but each individual of the *rayahs*, or those subject to the impost, were liable to frequent and insolent examination in the streets ; and on failing to produce his legal receipt, was forced to pay the stipulated tax to the nearest official authority.§ Should any dispute arise as to the age of the sufferer, his head was measured with a cord, by which the valutors pretended to calculate with the nicest precision ; but as accuracy was only to be expected on one side, the Greek had generally the worst of the scrutiny.|| Besides, though liable to these variations, the same

* Thornton makes the distinction to rest between the inhabitants of cities and the country, the latter paying from five years, and the former not till after eight ; c. vi. vol. ii. p. 16.

† See Thornton, Beaujour, Pouqueville, &c.

‡ Leake.

§ Pouqueville, c. x.

|| “ Quand le Père d'un petit Grec veut chicaner, les precepteurs mesurent la tête de l'enfant avec une corde qui leur sert de toise ; et comme ils peuvent raccourcir la corde à volonté, le pauvre Grec a toujours tort.”—Beaujour, vol. i. Letter i. p. 51.

amount continued from year to year to be raised in the same province, as the levy was made according to an ancient census; and when the population decreased in number, the wealth of the residue was made answerable for the deficiency.

Of the other branches of the revenue, the most important were the *miri*, or land-tax, amounting to one-twelfth, or, according to others, a tenth, or a seventh of the produce of the soil; the duties paid at the entrance of every town on consumable commodities, cattle, provision, wine, and fire-wood; and the taxes on merchandise and moveable property, which, being arbitrarily assessed, consumed in many cases one-fourth of the gains of the *rayah*. Besides these, were the restrictive imposts upon commerce; the tributes demanded from the towns and villages of each *Pachalic*; *angaria*, or composition for exemption from forced labour at the public works; the purchase of dignified and official situations; and arbitrary requisition of horses, provender, and provisions for the service of the Sultan.* Legal proceedings were burthened with a duty of one-tenth of the value in dispute; escheats, forfeitures, and confiscations were all a source of profit to the Grand Seigneur; and an indefinite but immense

* Leake.

sum was raised by frequent *apanias*, or sums paid to prevent vexatious prosecutions, or demanded from the natives of those districts in which a murder or a misdemeanour had been committed, on the grounds that they might have prevented the enormity. The *istira* was a tax imposed on the agricultural and wealthy districts, such as Salonica, Volo, Varna, and others, to supply a proportion of wheat, amounting to about one-twelfth of the entire produce, to the Porte, at an arbitrary or rather nominal price;* and this, when shipped to Constantinople, was either stored up as a resource against scarcity, or sold to the populace at an extravagant profit.†

* Thornton, vol. ii. p. 26. Beaujour, Let. iv.

† De la Croix, an author whose work on the situation of the Greeks, Armenians, and Maronites, under the dominion of the Turks, † appeared about the same time with the Travels of De la Guilletiere, gives a long and pretty accurate account of the classes of taxation at that time imposed upon the Greeks; from which we learn that the *Karatch* (which was constantly varying) was at that time fixed at three crowns and a half per head, and that its payment commenced at the age of fifteen. In addition to this were the *Devissirmé*, or levy of male children, one-tenth of whom were seized for the service of the seraglio, either as secretaries or menials, according to their capacities; the *Kurek Accnessi*, for the support

† "Etat presente des Nations et Eglises Grecque, Armenienne, et Maronite en Turquie. Par le Sieur De la Croix."

These are, however, merely a few of the most prominent exactions of the Ottomans;

of the navy; the *Sursat*, for the private expenses of the Sultan; the *Avariz*, for the army; and the *Ave Achessi*, or levy for the maintenance of the Sultan's stud and equipages for the chase. The words of the author are quaint and original, and I subjoin a short quotation from the third chapter of his book.

“ Comme la religion est ce qui engage les peuples, l'Empereur Otoman, pour adoucir l'esclavage des Grecs, et les accoutûmer au joug, leur accorda une entière liberté de conscience, et l'exercice public de leurs ceremonies, avec de grands privilèges au Patriarche, desquels il sera traité dans un Chapitre particulier, et leur assigna tous les dehors de Constantinople depuis les Sept Tours jusqu'au Fanal pour leur habitation, sous le tribut de neuf dragmes d'argent par tête; valant environ un écu de notre monnoie.

“ Ce petit droit a triplé par la succession du tems, et ce tribut personnel appelé *Carache*, monte présentement à trois écus et demi par tête, qui se paie dez quinze ans, et s'exige très-rigoureusement de tous les mâles,

“ L'on a joint à cette imposition capitale plusieurs autres charges très rudes, lesquelles accablent cette nation, nommées, *Devissirmé*, *Kurek Acchessi*, *Sursat*, *Avariz*, et *Ave Acchessi*.

“ Le *Devissirmé* est la decime des enfans mâles, que l'on arrache du sein de leurs parens pour les circoncire et faire Mahometans,* dont la dureté oblige ceux qui ont du bien de

* There seems to be a discrepancy here; De la Croix published his work in 1695, and the *Devissirmé* is said to have been abolished in Greece during the reign of Amurath IV. (1623-1640.) “ Ce fut sous son regne que les Grecs cessèrent de

but so undefined was the system of extortion, and so uncontrolled the power of those to

quitter la campagne, pour se réfugier dans les grandes villes, où l'on est exempt de ce cruel et sensible tribut.

"*Kurck Acchessi*, droit des rames, est destiné pour l'entretien des Galères.

"*Sursat* se paie pour la subsistance de la maison du Grand Seigneur lorsqu'il fait la guerre; il falloit même autrefois qu'il y allât en personne, mais presentement il suffit qu'il quitte son serrail, et fasse une démonstration de se mettre en campagne par la sortie des Etendars à queues, et des Tentes.

"*Avariz* est annuel pour la fourniture de l'orge, foin, paille, et bois, que les Grecs de la campagne sont obligés d'amener aux serrails du G. S., des Vesirs, et autres grands officiers de la Porte, auxquels sa Hautesse fournit l'Etape.

"*Ave Acchessi*, droit de chasse, se lève pour les menus plaisirs de l'Empereur, et contribuer à l'entretien de ses equipages de chasse."—*De La Croix*, Etat present des Nations Grecques, &c. en Turquie, cap. iii. p. 6.

From the payment of these, however, there were numerous exemptions, and the *Musselini*, or privileged class, included all the public functionaries of the seraglio and the government, and the immediate retainers of the Grand Vizier, the Mufti, the Capitan Pacha, and the Bostangi Bachi; the physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and principal tradespeople of the government;* and the women, monks, and priests of the Greeks were likewise included in the immunity.

livrer le dixième de leur population mâle pour recruter les Janissaires."—*Resumé Géographique de la Grèce*, &c. edited by Bory St. Vincent, Paris, 1820. See also *De la Guilletiere*, *Lacedemone Anc. et Nouv.* lib. ii. p. 180.

* *De la Croix*, cap. iv. p. 9. *De la Guilletiere*, vol. ii. p. 490. *Lacedemone*.

whom its execution was entrusted, that the evil spread over the whole system of administration, and insinuated itself with a polypous fertility into every relation and ordinance of society, till there were few actions or occupations of the Greek that were not burthened with the scrutiny and interference of his masters, and none that did not suffer, in a greater or lesser degree, from their heartless rapine. The rayahs were the mere serfs of the soil, *corveables*, to use the words of one of their historians, *et taillables à merci et miséricorde*; with no prospect of elevation or eminence, no opportunity of education or knowledge, but doomed to dig and to eat, and to bow to earth for subsistence, instead of aspiring towards heaven for enlightenment.

The taxes of some of the districts, as that of Maina and the Jews of Salonica, were collected by the people themselves, and forwarded without the intervention of the Moslems; but in general they were farmed by the Proesti,* or elders of the various districts, who received from the Turks the title of Cogia Bachis. These were the heads of the most distinguished Greek families, whom either agriculture or commerce had raised to distinction, and who

* Called by the Greeks γεροντες, ἄρχοντες, ἀφέντες, οἰκάρχαι, πρόστοι, &c. Rabbe.

were enabled to purchase their office from their respective Pachas. Their influence in their local district was considerable; they were the privy councillors of the bishops,* and when united, had it often in their power to mitigate and soothe the rigours of tyranny; but, in general, their reputation was infamous in the extreme. They leagued with their enemies in every act of oppression, joined in petitions to favour the views of the Pachas, became the absolute reptiles of despotism, and conspired, in conjunction with the higher clergy, to retard the progress of mental cultivation and national improvement.†

It has been observed, with equal justice and ingenuity, "*La dynastie Ottomane est campée en Europe*," and the nature of their institutions appears to argue, on their part, a consciousness of the transiency of their temporary possessions. Their dominion, like the halt of a hostile army, seems solely bent on rapine, and oppression, and outrage; they aim only at the immediate attenuation and impoverishment of the conquests, apparently doubtful as to the duration of their tenure. Their constitution is

* Rizo, p. 73. See a subsequent chapter on the power of the Greek clergy.

† Leake, Hist. on Gr. Rev. p. 13. Pouqueville, c. x. Rabbe, Rizo, &c. &c.

based upon no one principle of permanent advantage or advancing prosperity, but would wrest all with a ruthless hand to-day, unmindful and uncertain of the interests of to-morrow : and not content with exhausting this stream, would destroy even the springs which supplied it. It was thus that the most fertile sources of prosperity and national wealth amongst the Greeks were corrupted or suppressed by the rapacious tyranny of their rulers; arts and manufactures became almost extinct in a country where property was insecure and commerce restricted by unreasonable imposts; and agriculture, which can only flourish when supported by extensive capital and protected by fostering laws, received but a languishing cultivation from those whose lands were held by no certain or enduring tenure, and whose produce was consumed in inordinate taxes, or seized on for the arbitrary supply of State monopolies.*

Throughout Greece and Turkey in general, all *lands* were held immediately of the Sultan, and on the decease of the incumbent, vested anew in him; so that the possessor, Ottoman or Christian, had no other than a mere life-interest in his estates, and, consequently, no stimulus to exertion or permanent improvements. In Greece the most valuable lands,

* Thornton, vol. i. p. 113. 216.

especially in the north, were almost exclusively in the hands of the Turks,* who held them in *xiamets* and *timars*. The former of these was a portion consisting of 500 acres, or upwards; and the latter any quantity from 300 to 500;† and each was enjoyed on the terms, that the possessor, with a stipulated number of followers,‡ should join the army of the Sultan in periods of war. The lands thus disposed of were again leased out by the *Timariots* to the *rayahs*, who commuted for a tribute the obligation of military service,§ and after paying one-tenth of the produce,|| as the imperial land-tax, divided the remainder with the *Timariot* as the rent of their possessions. The situation of their feudal chiefs was one of considerable influence, but little arbitrary power.¶ These estates were consequently, in general, sufficiently populated, as well by the native Greeks, as by Hungarians and others, who were at-

* Rabbe, p. 110.

† Thornton, 220, 221, (from Marsigli.) ‡ Ibid. 222.

§ Thornton, p. 223. Zalloni, *Essai sur les Fanariots*, p. 140.—“Les Grecs n'entraient jamais dans les troupes Turques destinées au service militaire actif ou extérieur. Les îles seules fournissèrent des matelots à la flotte.”—Rabbe, p. 103.

|| Thornton. One-seventh according to Leake.

¶ “Les *Timariots* et les *Spahis*, ou seigneurs feudataires qui pour prix de leurs victoires reçurent des terres en par-

tracted by the apparently mild terms held out by the Ottomans;* and in numerous instances the Greeks of the northern provinces, worn out with domestic oppression, were accustomed to attach themselves as clients to the Spahis and Timariots of their Pachalics, who thus became their patrons and defenders against violence or aggression.†

The whole of the lands were not, however, consumed in these partitions; some portions, especially in the Morea, remained in the families of their original proprietors,‡ burthened with oppressive imposts; and others were attached as *evkafs* to the mosques, or *hasses* to female relations of the Sultan, or the officers of the Seraglio, from whom they were leased by the Greeks who tilled them. The islands were subjected to no other oppressions than the annual and stated tribute, and their inhabitants were exempt from the frequent insults and aggressions of the Turks, to which their countrymen in less favoured districts were exposed.

Nor were the miseries attendant on this sys-

tage, percevaient des dîmes (*ouchour*); mais ils n'avaient aucun droit, ni sur la personne de leurs vassaux, ni sur leurs propriétés."—Rizo, p. 71.

* Thornton, from Leunclavius.

† Carrel, p. 84.

‡ Thornton, p. 223. Leake, p. 12.

tem of feudal occupancy the only obstacles to the happiness or prosperity of the Grecian agriculturists. Their uncertain tenures were burdened with taxes, and exposed to injuries, which reduced the produce of their labours to a pittance barely requisite for the sustenance of life. Independent of the land-tax to the Sultan, there was usually a quit-rent to the Aga, or local governor;* a proportion of the produce which remained after satisfying the demands of the Timariot was seized for the imperial *istira*,† and the Pacha had the power of making occasional and indefinite levies in money or kind, and of quartering soldiers on the districts of his territory.‡ The taxes on moveables and property were a source of irritating injustice;§ and even after the payment of every due and the discharge of every distressing impost, the property of the rayah was never secure from the ravages of brigands, whom the Turkish police were totally unable to exterminate or resist.

Nor did the wealthy Greeks themselves prove more lenient or friendly masters to their dependent countrymen; proud to imitate the arrogance of their masters, they treated with haughty tyranny their crouching dependents,

* Probably as the purchase of the immunity from military service mentioned above. See 2 Bl. Comm. 41.

† See p. 294.

‡ Leake.

§ Rabbe, 111.

and taking advantage of the misery created by themselves, they were often the first to seize on the remaining property of the wretches whom their oppression had reduced to indigence.* Added to this, one more general grievance to the farmer was the high rate of labour, which was singularly disproportionate to the price of produce. A labourer, according to Beaujour,† could earn twenty-five paras per diem, and mutton or beef was sold at twelve and six paras the okka,‡ and bread at four. This anomaly arose from the number of fast-days and festivals, engrossing a large proportion of the year, during which the Greeks were forbidden to work both by inclination and religion. Thus it was necessary that the wages of one third of the time in which they were employed, should be adequate for their support during the remainder that they were unoccupied; a burden which fell entirely on the landed proprietor.

But the influence of the leaven of despotism was not confined to one department alone; and whilst agriculture was thus languishing beneath a mass of oppressive restrictions, *commerce* was labouring with other, though, perhaps, less galling impediments. The shores of Greece, indented by many bays, and her coasts surrounded

* Leake. Rabbe.

† Letter xxiii.

‡ 2½ lbs.

ed by a mass of islands, seemed naturally formed for the seat of extensive trade, to which the lively genius and active habits of her population were peculiarly adapted ; and the portion which she enjoyed at the period of the Turkish conquest was not altogether destroyed by that event.* The Turks, too apathetic by constitution for commercial bustle, and occupied with speculations of ambition rather than traffic, confined their energies to arms, and abandoned merchandize to their prostrate minions. The same apathy, however, which left them to the calm pursuit of trade, operated likewise as a barrier to its advancement, since Turkey, intent only on foreign conquest, was heedless to take any precautions for the safety or interest of the trading Greeks, or protect the shores of the Peninsula from the hordes of corsairs, who long infested them with impunity. The islands and the coasts of Attica and the Morea, were the points most exposed to the ravages of these ruthless miscreants ; and here the miseries arising from their outrages is appallingly described by the early visitants of Greece.† The slightest

* Leake.

† The following extract from De la Guilletiere's visit to Salamis (now Colouri) will illustrate the misery inflicted by the corsairs, to which I have alluded. (See also vol. i. p. 61 of the same.)

appearance of a boat or a sail upon the shore was sufficient to strike terror into the whole mass of the inhabitants, who with one consent abandoned their houses, and driving their cattle before them, fled to conceal themselves in the cliffs or caverns of their hills. Under such circumstances commerce or intercourse with strangers was all but interdicted ; and even when the

“ Le matin du lundy 22 Avril, nôtre troupe de voyageurs se mit dans une chaloupe, pour descendre au port de la ville de Colouri. Je leur tins compagnie, et nous vînmes dans une anse fort étroite, qui a une bonne lieue d'enfoncement, et qui est au sud de l'Isle. Ayans mis pied à terre au bout de l'anse, nous y trouvâmes une centaine de cavernes, et environ deux cens malheureuses cabanes ; c'est ce qui forme la ville capitale de l'Isle, et les misérables restes du royaume d'Ajaj. Le nombre de ses habitans ne va guère qu'à quatre cens personnes. La désolation est peinte sur leur visage. Toutes les fois qu'ils découvrent la moindre chaloupe en mer, ils gagnent vîtement leurs grottes les plus éloignées, dans l'appréhension que ce ne soit des corsaires, car il y en vient souvent, qui les enlèvent, et les vendent. Ils se sauvèrent dès qu'ils nous eurent apperçeus, et nous entendions les cris qu'ils faisoient en chassant leurs bestiaux, pour leur faire vîtement gagner ces cavernes secrètes. Un de nos gens attrappa un vieillard, que sa foiblesse empêchoit de courir. Nous le rassurâmes si bien, et par nos caresses, et par nôtre mine, qui ne tenoit rien du corsaire, qu'il nous mena à la bouche d'une de ces cavernes, d'où il sortit sur la parole cinq ou six insulaires. Nous les apprivoisâmes, nous leurs demandâmes des vivres pour de l'argent, et leur en donnâmes d'avance.”—De la Guilletiere, Voyage d'Athènes, liv. ii. p. 114.

impediment of terror on the side of the Greeks was removed, the exactions and insolence of the Turks were sufficient to drive foreign shipping from their ports. De la Guilletiere states,* that it was almost impossible for an European to frequent their towns without insult or injury, and that justice or redress was either totally withheld, or only to be purchased from the Cadi by ample pecuniary remuneration.†

When at length a period was put to the conquests of the Sultans, and the aroused energy of Europe compelled them to act solely on the defensive or rest in inactivity, the attention of the Divan was in some degree directed to the regulation of commerce. So far, however, from contributing to its advancement at home, they sought to confine its benefits exclusively to strangers. The exportation of consumable produce, especially from the capital,‡ was forbidden, and whilst the native merchant was forced to pay an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. on all exports and imports, the foreign trader, by an inexplicable policy, was permitted the same privileges for three.§ In addition to this, as the Turks began to perceive the wealth derivable

* Voyage d'Athènes, liv. ii. p. 117.

† Ibid.

‡ Thornton, vol. i. 82.

§ Rabbe, 116. "This restriction was afterwards removed in a great degree by the exertions of Demetrio Morousi, Dragoman of the Porte."—See *Resumé Geog. &c.* p. 357.

from successful trade, their Beys and Governors in various provinces engrossed to themselves the monopoly of the corn, cotton, and the other important branches of foreign traffic.* Still, however, enough remained to occupy the attention and reward the toil of the Greeks; and, besides, the profession of commerce was one, which, whilst its consequent wealth entailed a portion of respect on those who exercised it, enabled the Greek to enjoy the comforts of life without coming into direct collision with his despotic masters. From this system of restrictive oppression, the Turks were in the habit of deriving a considerable revenue by means of the *beraths*, or privileges, which they sold at a high rate to the aggrieved or harassed Christians. By means of this immunity, which usually cost from 3 to 10,000 piastres, the person and property of its possessor were placed under the protection of an European minister at the Porte, and he was admitted to some distinctions of costume which were forbidden to his less fortunate countrymen.†

* Dr. Holland, &c.

† The jurisdiction of the *berath* has lately undergone a considerable change: the usual *ruse* of placing its bearer under the protection of an Ambassador is now done away with, and the bearer becomes a client of the Sultan himself, who decides directly all matters which concern his interest.—Rabbe.

Down to the end of the seventeenth century, the Greeks continued to make a tardy but gradual progress, and owing to their superior local knowledge, contrived to engross the greater portion of the internal traffic of Turkey, and by degrees to supplant the Frank* merchants in the conducting of foreign commerce. It was, however, during the wars which at that period distracted the tranquillity of Europe, and destroyed the Levantine trade of numerous continental powers, that the mercantile genius of the Christian subjects of the Porte received its full developement, and their speculative activity was crowned with ample success.† When the commerce of France, Italy, and Spain was, for a long period, annihilated by the British marine, the Greek traders rose at once into a new and extraordinary importance.‡ It was then that the ports of Turkey were filled with their merchants, their vessels were seen navigating every quarter of the Mediterranean, and the barren rocks of Spezzia and Hydra§ became covered with the habita-

* *Frank* is the term applied by the Greeks to Europeans who are not of their own church; and it is no unusual thing for a stranger to be asked by them whether he be *Φράγκος* or *Χριστιάνος*, a Frank, or a Christian.—Zalloni.

† Pouqueville, cxvii.

‡ See Suppl. Enc. Brit.

§ Some particulars regarding these interesting spots, and the later condition of Greek commerce, shall be detailed in a subsequent portion of the work.

tions and storehouses of a hardy and enterprising population, who rose in a few years to the possession of an extended trade, and the enjoyment of unprecedented wealth. The influence of this amelioration on the later destinies of their country, I shall advert to in a succeeding section ; but at present my concern is chiefly with the situation of the Greeks previous to the close of the eighteenth century.

One fertile source of popular discontent was the utter corruption of *public justice* in the hands of the Ottomans. The Pachas, administering the affairs of their several dominions with the despotism and military discipline of a Tartar camp, were the supreme authorities in cases of a capital nature ; and although their decisions professed to be guided by the dictates of the Koran, and were liable to an appeal to the Sultan,* the dogmas of the former were as often disregarded, as the prayers of the latter were unheard or unheeded.† Disputes concerning civil affairs, between the Turks and the Christians, or Jews, were referred to the Cadis, or Mollahs of the city or district. These official personages were appointed by the Mufti at Constantinople, who is head of the law and religion, the profession of the former being esteemed sacred amongst the Moslems,‡ and

* Rizo, 70.

† Rabbe, 112.

‡ Carrel, 83.

were likewise guided in their decrees by the text of the Koran : but as bribery was a notorious feature of their administration, and as their duty was to decide between a privileged *believer* and a *dog of an infidel*, their judgments were as often warped by self-interest, as obscured by prejudice.* With them the evidence of one Turk was always more powerful than that of two Greeks;† and false witness was in consequence formed into something like a regular profession by the former.‡

The gainer of a suit was, in all cases, liable to bear its expenses; and the Turks themselves, aware of the corruption of these polluted tribunals, were often compelled to submit to injustice, rather than suffer by their biassed decisions.

In matters between Greek and Greek, the Prelates of the diocese were the usual umpires; nor was their office by any means a sinecure, since the litigious spirit of their flocks found ample subjects, not only for their investigation, but that of the Cadis.§

* Rabbe, 112.

† Carrel, 83.

‡ Suppl. Enc. Brit.—“Allons pourtant jusqu'à supposer qu'un tel juge peut avoir des intentions de justice ; de puis sans adversaires avec trois faux temoins pouvaient toujours impunément écraser les plaignants.”—Rabbe, 112.

§ Pouqueville, c. xiv.

The *police* of the towns and villages was regulated with the same military severity and promptitude, and characterized by the same inefficiency and unnecessary cruelty. The most summary execution was passed upon all delinquents; the utterer of base coin was beheaded on the spot, the owner of false measures was bastinadoed before his shop, and the baker whose bread was deficient in weight was, without farther ceremony, nailed to his own door by the ear.

The office of Dervendgi Bachi, or inspector of public works, was one, which being disposed of to its possessor at the highest price, naturally involved oppression and extortion in its discharge. His periodical expeditions were more generally marked in their progress by extortion from the miserable Greeks, than characterized in their results by improvement or public advantage;* and whilst from year to year

* On these occasions the Dervendgi always lodges at the house of the Agas, who feast him in the most sumptuous manner they are able. Sometimes, when there is no Aga to do the honours of the town, he takes up his abode at the houses of the Greek Primates, whom he turns out of their habitations without any ceremony, and levies contributions on them. He also has a great preference to visiting the Convents of Caloyers, where he eats up whatever he can find: these poor monks would live for a year on the provisions which the Grand Provost and his suite would consume

these privileged spoilers were quartered in the fairest districts, and drained in imposts and *angaria* the toil-won earnings of industry, the roads, which they professed to inspect, became gradually impassable from decay, and the bridges, which they levied taxes to repair, were crumbling to ruins through age and neglect.

In every department of their civil policy the Greeks were thus labouring under all the wretchedness consequent on a government, whose administration was conducted by the fiat of a despotic autocrat, untempered by the united voices of a representative body, or an organized assembly. . The general characteristics of their servitude were undeviatingly the same, and its only modifications were those arising from the caprices or disposition of their successive rulers. Local abuses assumed in time the air of authorized custom ; and the casual insults of delegated tyrants were adopted as precedents by their unfeeling or self-interested successors.

In their hands the crimes of their subjects became the most productive sources of profit to their rulers ; and when the unoffending natives

in a day. Woe to them if the Dervendgi finds their fare good, or sees any thing in the situation that pleases his fancy ! As there is nothing pressing in his business, he pitches his tents, and stays amongst them till they are entirely ruined.—Pouqueville, by Plumtre, c. xiv.

of an inculpated district were worn out with the abuses of the soldiery quartered on them, for the investigation of some alleged misdemeanour, its compromise was at length permitted as an act of grace by the Pacha, on the payment of inordinate *avaniahs*. The more wealthy the sufferer, the more obnoxious was he to insult and injustice; and poverty, whilst it became a protection in some cases, led only to indignity and degradation in others. The *rayah* was forbidden to appear abroad in the same costume with his master;* ready chastisement awaited the Christian who delayed to bow down before his passing oppressor;† and the vilest insults, or even personal violence to a Greek, was repaid by the Turkish authorities with a punishment so slight as to amount almost to an immunity.‡ To sum up all: the energies of the nation were either cramped in their infancy, or crushed in their maturer developement; the course of justice was diverted from its genial channels, or fouled by venality and religious favouritism; the fruits of domes-

* *Rabbe*, 116.

† *Ibid.* 115. *Pouqueville*, c. x. *Dr. Holland*.

‡ “Un Turc pouvait frapper, souffleter, même tuer un Grec d'un rang quelconque, sans que ces violences donnassent lieu à aucune poursuite sérieuse de la part de l'autorité.”—*Rabb.* 115. The full extent of this assertion is not borne out by that of *Rizo*, to which I have already alluded.

tic toil were wrested by local despots and delegated tyrants, or sacked by the unresisted spoiler and the wandering bandit. Industry was abandoned by the peasantry, since its produce was only to be enjoyed by their oppressors; and commerce was driven from the harbours of Greece by the brutal insults or despotic restrictions of the Ottoman authorities. Thus shut out from all the world, the wretched descendants of immortal ancestors were forced to stagnate in obscurity and rot in ignorance; life, a succession of atrocities, either inflicted or endured; and death, a boon as often prayed for with fervency, as conferred through frivolity or tyrannic malevolence. The mind of the Greek became by degrees debased, as his habits were servile and corrupt; the tale of his glory was forgotten; unlettered, unpitied, and unmoved, he toiled as a serf in the land of his inheritance; the sword of his sires had long become the sickle of a slave, and the ploughshare of an infidel was passed by the hand of an Athenian over the proudest monuments of his fathers. Virtue, outraged on the one hand, and unvalued or unrewarded on the other, was exchanged for sensuality, chicanery, and vice; and the only trait that remained unaltered in the character of the Greek, was that elastic vivacity which no weight of tyranny could crush, and which even

in destitution could support and endure existence.

During this era of degradation, the situation of the Athenians was but one remove superior to that of the surrounding states, though still the partiality manifested toward them by Mahomet II. had, in some degree, been continued by his successors. Even to the present hour the Greeks retain a vivid recollection of the comparative humanity of this extraordinary prince; and the remnants of some of his institutions still remain to keep alive the remembrance of his unwonted lenity. Amongst others, it was one of the immunities of Athens that no Bey or Sangiac should establish his residence in the city,* since the rapacity of his numerous suite could not fail to prove a source

* “Je demanday aux plus éclairés des Vecchiados pourquoy leur ville, qui est encore une des mieux peuplées de la Grèce, n'estoit pas le Siège de la Residence d'un Sangiac ou d'un Bey. Ils me dirent que c'estoit encore là une des plus grandes marques de la bonté que Mahomet II. avoit eüe pour Athènes; parce que les officiers de ce rang ayant toujours beaucoup de suite après eux, ils ne pouvoient estre qu'à charge aux villes où ils residoient. Ainsi le Sultan Mahomet n'avoit pas voulu que tous les petits officiers qui composent la Maison d'un Sangiac, et qui sont autant de petits brigands qui cherchent incessamment dans la jurisdiction de leur Maître l'occasion de faire leur fortune, pillassent la ville d'Athènes, sous prétexte de la dignité qu'on y auroit établie.”
—De la Guilletiere, lib. ii. p. 157.

of annoyance to the inhabitants; and the Disdar Aga was obliged to reside within the walls of the citadel.

So early as the reign of Achmet I., about the year 1604, the form of government which remained to the nineteenth century was established at Athens, at the period when it was placed under the protection of the Kislär Aga, or chief of the black eunuchs of the seraglio, in whom was vested the appointment of the Disdar, Sardar, and Cadi.* Under† the reign of the most apathetic sultans, the influence of this officer had always been paramount with his sovereign: to him was entrusted the care of the harem, and he alone, or his immediate attendants, were permitted to cross the sacred threshold of the Gynicæum: he was the

* Fanelli mentions the government of the Kislär Aga without giving any date, but evidently at an earlier period than that assigned as its commencement by De la Guilletiere; it appears, in fact, to be after the first peace between Venice and the Porte. "Recaduta anco Atene nella servitù primiera, soggiacque al governo di un Vaivoda, primo eunocho del Gran Signore, e la quale restò assignata per appanaggio ascendente all' annua rendita de trente mila reali."—*Lib. Terz. s. 682.*

† For the data of the following story I am indebted to De la Guilletiere, who professes to have had it from an eunuch who held an official situation at Athens, under the Kislär Aga. Its historical accuracy is left for the reader's decision.

minister of all the pleasures of his prince ; by his means the beauties of the East were transferred to the halls of the seraglio ; and in the hours devoted to enjoyment, he alone possessed the favour or the secret ear of the Sultan. Athens, from the moment of her subjection, had been suffering all the miseries of oppression ; and though to her alone the partial favours vouchsafed by tyranny had devolved, she was still too far from the throne of her despot to make known to him her miseries, or claim even those kindnesses which the Porte was willing to concede to her : she had no advocate to assert her rights abroad, and no comforter to soothe her wretchedness at home. Successive sultans trod but in the steps of their predecessors, and succeeding rulers of Attica pursued their wonted course of rapine and exaction throughout her desolated fields. From the death of Mahomet II. to the reign of Achmet I. her children had been harassed by taxes to support the foreign expeditions of her warlike rulers, and her peasantry were sunk in poverty from the grinding despotism of their petty tyrants.

With the accession of Achmet, however, a new course of oppression commenced, more depraved in its nature and more exasperating in its effects. His short and despicable reign was only marked by vice and characterized by sen-

suality; for the pleasures of the harem he abandoned the glories of the field, and consumed in luxurious seclusion the hours which his ancestors had devoted to empire and to arms. In lieu of the purses which were formerly presented by the Beys of the subjugated provinces of his empire, he now demanded that the most beautiful women of the East should be sent to his seraglio as the purchase of their respective governments. His officers, aware of his predilections, sought through every district the daughters of their rayahs most distinguished for their charms; and every year the loveliest females of Greece and Asia were conveyed to the harem of the sensual Sultan. Each, as she left the house of her fathers, was furnished by the Sangiac, or the Bey, who was the agent of her shame, with gifts and jewels for the slaves of the seraglio; and each was taught that her own advancement, as well as that of her patron, depended on the influence which she should be enabled to gain over the affections of the Sultan, and those who were the ministers of his pleasures and possessed his confidence. It was thus that the intrigues of the Divan were conducted by the slaves of the palace, and the rulers of the most distant and important provinces held their authority through the mistresses of the degraded prince.

During this epoch of sensual despotism, one family, whose name has not been handed down to us, were living at Athens under all the privations and sufferings which it was possible for Turkish barbarity to inflict. Even then the maidens of Greece were celebrated for their beauty, but amongst them all none was so fair as Basilia, the daughter of the oppressed and indignant Greek. From a child the graces of her person and the loveliness of her countenance had been the theme of universal eulogy; and as she grew to womanhood, each day, which added new beauties to her form, increased in like proportion the anxious solicitude of her mother to conceal those charms, which were only destined to lead to her destruction and her shame. But her efforts were unavailing; the report of Basilia's beauty had reached the ears of the Turkish officers, and at once her capture was resolved on. To others the announcement of such a destiny might have been attended with feelings of satisfaction; but the heart of Basilia had been too long schooled in oppression to view with complacency any lot which brought her into contact with the foes of her race, and her mind had been too early tinged by virtue, to admire any station, however lofty, which blended shame with exaltation. Resistance on her part was, however, unavailing, and

with a firm, but bursting heart, she prepared to submit to her tyrants ; but when the hour of her departure arrived, when she was to bid a long farewell to her kindred and her country, the tenderness of the child overcame the self-devotion of the martyr. She spurned with indignation the proffered gold of her captors, which was to purchase her advancement at Stamboul ; she clung with parting fondness round the neck of her unfortunate parents ; and her mother, as she pressed her to her heart, reminded her that she had now abandoned all her *personal* treasures, her friends, her happiness, and her home, but that one care was still remaining—should she ever attain an influence in the court of the Sultan, she besought her to remember the rites of her sacred religion, and the wrongs of her degraded country.

She arrived at Constantinople, and was conducted to the palace of Achmet ; but it was long ere she was introduced to the Sultan : she neither sighed for the envied honour of his affections, nor had she wherewith to bribe the slaves around her, in whose hands alone were the means of her presentation. When her fellow-captives informed her of the necessity of being liberal, she only replied with a sigh, “Alas, what can I bestow ? I was born in sorrow and nursed in misery, and even should I assign them the city of

my birth, it would be but an inheritance of ruin and a gift of poverty." But charms like hers could not long be concealed: the Prince, by accident, had seen her in the gardens of the seraglio, and was astonished at her loveliness; he sought her without delay, and she became forthwith the companion of his every hour, and the favourite amongst his harem of angelic beauties. She was now assailed on every side by the envy of her rivals, or the hatred of the royal minions, who had hoped for advancement and wealth through a show of patronage towards the young Greek. But Basilia was unmoved by the one, and uninjured by the other. She loathed the favours which attracted the envy of her companions, and despised the resentment of her disappointed slaves; sorrow sat brooding at her heart, and regret for the past embittered every prospect for the future. It was in vain that her flatterers told her of her charms, and reminded her of her splendour; in vain was she called the Queen of the East, and the loved one of the King of Kings; her thoughts were far away, amidst the ruins of her home; and her cottage by the banks of the Ilyssus had more charms for Basilia than all the domes and palaces of Stamboul.

It was thus that she passed the first weary days of her proud captivity, in vain regret and

hopeless melancholy, whilst daily tears and ceaseless sorrow were dimming the sparkle of her fawn-like eye, and blighting the roseate colour of her cheek. She met the advances of her lover with cold indifference; she saw him approach without emotion, and depart without reluctance; she marked unmoved the influence of her charms, and she left unregarded the favours which he proffered, or the gorgeous presents which he conferred upon her. The only change she viewed with pleasure, was the gradual sinking of her spirits, and the conscious wasting of her form: time had for her no period of attraction; the future was uncertainty, the past was grief, and the present shame, remorse, and debasement: she was joyfully and quickly hasting to the grave,—when at once a thought passed across her mind like a vision—it upbraided her with ingratitude, it aroused her to energy—it was the last injunction of her parents, which warned her to remember “the precepts of her God, and the interests of her people.” She had long seen but too plainly that her mother’s parting words were true, that she had nought to hope for, *for herself*; and she had ceased to cherish any feeling but despair; but whilst she reproached herself with selfishness, in wasting her hours in hopeless sorrow for her own wrongs, she resolved on higher

deeds, and prepared to achieve some signal kindness for her country ere her life or her influence should end. At once, with all the elastic energy of her race, she doffed the semblance of woe, she met the prince with smiles of gladness, she returned his caresses with redoubled kindness, she strove to recall the wan beauty of her cheek, and though her melting eye had lost its real splendour, she endeavoured by fictitious arts to kindle a false sparkle in its faded orb. Every circumstance conspired to favour her design : she was soon about to present to the Prince an heir to the throne of the Sultans ; and Achmet, moved by a thousand feelings of long-cherished love, lavished on her the fondest endearments, and overwhelmed her with unsolicited attentions and unwonted blandishment. On her part, she strove to fathom all the intrigues of the seraglio and the cabals of the divan, whilst every thought and every wish was solely directed to her home and her beloved Athens. To the Prince she seemed all disinterested attachment and confiding love ; and whilst she sought, as an important favour, a trifling benefit for a slave, she spurned, with real earnestness, the most costly offers to herself. “ May the light of the Prophet,” she would exclaim, when pressed by him to accept of some personal favour—“ May the light of the Prophet rest for ever on

the head of Achmet, and the sun of glory shed its beams around the brow of my Prince! but poor Basilia asks no boon beyond her sovereign's love, and no treasure, save the fond glances of her Sultan's eyes." It was in vain to resist her witcheries, and Achmet, even when refused by her, strove by stealth to heap presents upon his favourite slave; he distributed in her name gorgeous vests, and gaudy shawls, and jewelled sabres, to her immediate attendants; and Basilia, when they knelt to thank her for the favour, blushed at the delicate devotion of her lover.

At length the charm was completed, and the hour for its trial arrived: she was informed that her countrymen sighed for no concession less than a total change of masters; they longed for the protection of some individual near the throne, whose ear would receive their wrongs, and whose hand had power to redress them; and she had received intimation that this influential personage was the Kislär Aga. She now prepared for the important crisis. When seated in a kiosk on the Bosphorus, she desired the Kislär Aga to advance, and she addressed the Sultan: "Behold me at last," she exclaimed, "a suppliant to the King of Kings: may the prophet smile upon his days, and the bless-

ing and the health of Heaven rest upon his sacred head! But I ask no boon beyond the precincts of his throne, no gift for an alien from his palace; for why should the wealth of Achmet be lavished on a stranger, and why should the gold of the Sultan be squandered beyond the walls of his Serai? For my Prince, I implore the repose and the pleasure which Allah alone can bestow upon his creatures; myself too happy if my prayers for my lord be propitious, and happier still, should my efforts enhance the gifts of Heaven. But for one alone have I a boon to crave,—for him, the guardian of the harem, who prostrates himself before you;—yet I know no favour to solicit, no gift to entreat for him, save the wretched city of my birth, and the once-loved fields of my childhood. Give to him, then, the revenues of Athens for his inheritance, let its governors be of his choosing, and let its desolate inmates be no longer scourged by delegated tyrants, who spurn my lord's authority, and harass his devoted rayahs."

The heart of Achmet was burning with indignation to find that she sought no favour for herself; but he granted her prayer upon the spot, and the chief of the Black Eunuchs was

invested with the royalty of the city of Minerva.*

The object of Basilia was accomplished, but her heart was broken: she had no longer a motive to live for, and she again abandoned herself to solitude and grief. As the time of her confinement approached, Achmet had made all preparations suitable to the birth of an heir to his dominions. A palace had been erected for her, similar to those bestowed upon the Sultana Validè, or mother of the reigning prince; a Validè Agasi,† and all the officers of her household were already appointed,—when death arrested the pageant, and Basilia expired

* The following lines occur in Lord Byron's "Giaour":

"The hearts within thy valleys bred,
The fiery souls that might have led
Thy sons to deeds sublime,
Now crawl from cradle to the grave,
Slaves—nay the *bondsmen of a slave*,
And callous save to crime."

To this is appended a note, informing the reader that "Athens is now the property of the Kislär Aga, the slave of the seraglio, and guardian of the women, who has the appointing of the Vaivode;" but neither his Lordship, nor any historian I have met with, save De la Guilletiere, accounts in any way for this strange transfer of the city of freedom to an Ethiopian menial.

† "Chef des Eunuchs noirs de la Sultane mère."—De la Guilletiere.

in giving birth to an infant, who survived its mother but a day.* The grief of Achmet was mingled with all the fury of rage and disappointment: he accused the ladies of his harem of having murdered the mistress of his affections, and five of the most distinguished were cast, by his orders, into the waters of the Bosphorus; but as time assuaged the violence of his grief, his passions all subsided into a fond remembrance of his lost Basilia; and the gift of Athens, which he had made to her favourite, was confirmed to his successors as a perpetual monument to her memory.

Under the jurisdiction of the Kislär Aga, the affairs of Athens were managed by three official functionaries, the Vaivode, the Disdar, and the Cadi, together with the Vecchiados, or council of elders. The former was governor of the city and the suburbs, and his residence was in the midst of the town; the second had charge of the citadel, and commanded the Janissaries who formed its garrison, his

* This event took place before the birth of Osman II. who succeeded to the throne in 1618, on the deposition of Mustafa, brother to Achmet. This latter Prince (Mustafa) was the first instance of collateral succession in the line of the Sultans; since that course, though enjoined by the Prophet, had been hitherto neglected to be observed.—See Knolles, vol. i. p. 946; Cantemir, p. 241; D'Ohsson, tom. i. p. 284.

quarters being confined to the Acropolis; and the third, whose duties extended to the regulation of the police, and the civil regulations of the city, resided likewise in the lower part of Athens. The Vecchiados held the office of magistrates, but an appeal lay from their decision to the Cadi; "and in order," says De la Guilletiere,* "to conceal the offences of the Christians from the Turks, their duty was generally rather that of mediators than judges, since the litigious Greeks would seldom rest satisfied with their adjustment as official umpires, however they might regard them as friendly advisers. The inhabitants, at this period, amounted to about 15 or 16,000,† (of whom 1000 or 1200 were Mahomedans,) and the amount of karatch was estimated about two crowns per head; the other exactions enumerated by De la Croix being levied in due form.‡

* Athènes, p. 152.

† In the volume of Père Babin, *L'Etat Présent d'Athènes*, Spon estimates them at 8000 or 9000. See preface, p. 4. And Mr. Revett in a MS note appended to a copy of Chandler's *Travels*, in the British Museum, reduces them to 5000 or 6000, in 1765.

‡ Athènes, lib. ii. p. 160.

There would seem to be some error in De la Guilletiere here, or else the nature of the government must have changed very soon after his visit, as Babin, Spon, Wheler, and Stuart,

It would seem, however, that the Athenians had not reaped, in the full extent, the benefits which they had promised to themselves from the protection of the Kisklar Aga; since, in succeeding periods, his delegates had pursued the same course of rapine and plunder exercised by the former rulers of the unfortunate city. The travellers who visited them in the early part of the seventeenth century, returned with a vivid impression of their misery, and all recount some wretched details of oppression, of outrage, and of tyrannic retaliation. They represent them as impoverished and degraded, earning a miserable subsistence by the most menial occupations, and hoarding the scanty earnings of the year for a gay display of thoughtless mirth and superficial happiness at the period of their religious festivals.* The Turks, on the other hand, were severe in their exactions, and haughty in their demeanour; every follower of the Prophet looking on himself as a superior being, whose religious pecu-

mention only the Vaivode and Cadis, as Governors of Athens; the second, indeed, takes notice of the Vecchiados, whom he denominates Eptropi. (See Babin, p. 58, Wheler, p. 348, Stuart, vol. i. p. 10.) Wheler likewise mentions, that in his time the karatch was raised from four dollars and a half per head to five dollars, as well at Athens as throughout Turkey, (p. 348.)

* Chandler, p. 119.

liarities invested him with a political pre-eminence, and whose province it was to tyrannise over his prostrate fellow-subjects; whilst, on their part, resistance, or personal violence towards a Moslem, was visited by the loss of the uplifted hand.*

Still these evils were not without a nominal remedy, and complaints of oppression, conveyed to the Kislar Aga, were in general investigated with humanity, and retribution granted to the suffering Greek.† Where these, however, were unattended to, and tyranny had been urged beyond endurance, the re-action of vengeance was often productive of terrific results; and during those popular tumults, those of the Turks who had escaped the fury of the insurgents, had frequently been forced to fly for refuge to the walls of the Acropolis.‡

Trade, owing to the restrictions I have already alluded to, was at the lowest ebb; it consisted merely of those commodities sufficing for the consumption of Attica, in exchange for which they supplied the merchants who brought them to the Piræus with oil, aniseed, wool,

* Chandler, p. 121.

† Wheler, p. 349.

‡ Chandler, p. 118. Stuart's Athens, vol. i. p. 10. Wheler, p. 348. Perry's View of the Levant, p. 514.

leather, wax, and honey.* The practice of this petty traffic, the constant necessity of resorting to crafty expedients to avoid the approach of corsairs, or the more certain and not less barbarous exactions of the Turks; the habit of employing every species of deception in order to secure their property, when acquired, from rapine and the plunder of their masters, together with the subtlety engendered by perpetual danger and apprehension, gradually tended to render the Athenians, like the mass of their countrymen, cunning, artful, and suspicious; and all their early visitors attach to them the stigma of selfish dexterity and low deceit.† As to their females, all concur in the

* Wheler, p. 353. De la Guilletiere, Athènes, p. 116. Stuart. Chandler, p. 126.

† Perry, p. 514; Chandler, 121. This character seems to have been most prevalent on the coasts, and at the maritime points of the Morea. De la Guilletiere gives a curious account of the dexterity of the Greeks of Napoli di Romania in talking on their fingers.

“ Les habitans de Napoli ont beaucoup d'esprit; et comme aucune crainte ne borne celuy des Turcs, il brille davantage sur tout quand il faut faire une avanie aux Chrestiens ou aux Juifs. Ils ont le talent de lire dans la main, sans aucun secours de la chiromancie. Vous serez surpris des effets de cet art merveilleux. Quand deux hommes veulent faire quelque complot secret devant le monde, et tromper les yeux et la pensée des témoins qui s'y rencontrent, ils tiennent

same assertion of the existence of that virtue and chastity which, down to the present day, distinguishes the ladies of Greece;* but each, whilst he dwells upon their personal charms, never fails to regret their ignorance and neglected intellect. Nor is this complaint confined to the fair sex alone: education, even at Athens, had been long extinct; and the debasement of public taste was more than commensurate with the corruption of their language, and their oblivion of the arts and productions of their fathers. Their sole remaining virtues were their hospitality, their domestic *bonhomie*, and their avowed opposition, weak though it might prove, to every attempt at religious proselytism, or farther political oppression, whilst they retained the frivolity, the elastic spirit, the vivacity, the love of change, and all the minor foibles of their immortal ancestors.

tous deux les mains couchées sur l'estomach et feignant de faire un geste d'étonnement, ou de joye, selon la nature des affaires et le sujet de la conversation, ils lèvent les bras, et se montrent les doigts ouverts de la manière qu'ils ont concertée. Qui montre dix, affirme ou nie quelque chose; promet ou refuse; encourage ou rebute; enfin il explique sa pensée en assurance. On n'a qu'à tenir la vue attachée sur sa main."—Lacedemone Anc. et Nouv. vol. ii. p. 604.

* Babin, p. 55. Guilletiere, 288; 152, &c.

CHAPTER X.

State of the Greek Church, under the dominion of
the Turks.

IT is an opinion not more generally than erroneously received, that the religion of Mahomet inculcates either the forcible proselytism, or the extermination, of its subjugated and unbelieving enemies. The genius of its founder was too comprehensive and politic to countenance a dogma so revolting to humanity and subversive of national advancement. The sole injunction of the Arab prophet to his followers, was to "*Fight against* them who believe not in God nor in the last day, who forbid not that which God and his apostle have forbidden, and profess not the true religion of those unto whom the Scriptures have been delivered, *until they pay tribute*, by right of subjection, and they be reduced low."* Such was the fiscal and at the

* Koran, c. ix. the Declaration of Immunity.

same time fanatical ordinance of the Koran; and in after-years the followers of Mahomet found its observance productive of no trifling accessions to the treasury of the Sultans: the slave was permitted to dig, to pay his tribute, and to worship, after his own fashion, the god of his people, and the karatch of the uncircumcised seldom failed to prove a sufficient expiation for their infidelity.

It was an adherence to this principle, aided by other immediate and persuasive causes, which, on the capture of Constantinople, and the subsequent reduction of Greece, induced Mahomet II. to manifest to the Greek hierarchy a toleration and kindness which form one of the most remarkable incidents in the details of his conquest.

The history of the Greek church, from the establishment of Christianity as the national religion in the fourth century, down to the final subversion of the Empire, is one continued and nauseous detail of bigotry, intolerance, puerility, corruption, and debasement. The example of sottish superstition exhibited by Constantine the Great, was sedulously imitated by the "theological Cæsars" who succeeded to his throne; and whilst from year to year the revenues, the territory, and the influence of the Empire, were becoming more and more degrad-

ed, almost the only councils held by these priest-ridden monarchs were those which were to settle the disputes concerning the Trinity or the Incarnation; their most energetic measures were directed to the suppression, not of insurrections, but of schisms; the Ebionites and Docetes were looked on as more appalling enemies than the Goths or the Saracens; and the intelligence of the march of an invading army could not create a greater sensation than the arguments concerning the *Procession* of the Holy Spirit*.† The dignity of the crown was

* Zalloni, *Essai sur les Fanariots*, p. 183.

† It may not, perhaps, be uninteresting to introduce here a short sketch of the peculiar tenets of the Greek Church as it at present exists, and to particularise those doctrines and items of ecclesiastical polity which distinguish it from the Roman Catholics.‡

‡ For more minute details, the reader is referred to the *Oratio* of Chytræus; Kraus's *Turco-Græcia*; Isaac Habert's *Αρχιπατρις*; the *Synopsis Canonum* of Laurence Howel; *Petit de la Croix*; Lindemann's *Ecclesiastical History*, &c.; Christophorus Angelus, *Enchiridion de institutis et ritibus Eccles. Gr.*; Bishop Beveridge's *Συνδίκιον*; Smith's *Epistola de Gr. Ecc. hódier. statu*; Pinkerton's *State of the Greek Church in Russia*; King's ditto; Platon's (*Metropolitan of Moscow*) ditto; Dr. Covel's *Account of the Greek Church*; Chevillier, *Grand Canon de l'Egl. Gr.*; Sir Paul Rycault's *State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*; the works of Leo Alacci, Librarian of the Vatican, &c.

merged in the haughty importance of the patriarch ; the nerves and energies of the govern-

The early progress of Christianity in the countries in the midst of which it originated, was marked by striking peculiarities in each. By the Jews, in the way of the accomplishment of whose haughty and ambitious anticipations it was an insuperable *stumbling-block*, its doctrines were at once rejected as an imposture. With the Greeks, who had already argued themselves into an unbelief of their ancient mythology, its reception was at first cold and cautious ; for a time they looked upon its pretensions with a philosophical and scrutinizing eye, and denominated as *foolishness* that which their conviction could not permit them wholly to reject, nor their scepticism allow them cordially to receive. Even after its precepts had obtained a firm footing amongst them, the same spirit of investigation, the same taste for analytic dispute, and the same passion for polemics and argument, prevailed. The Romans, on the contrary, unaccustomed to originality in any thing, received with promptness their dogmas of belief, as they had already done their principles of art and their taste for literature. Their dogged and uninquiring genius, which was content with imitation in the ordinary affairs of life, was a ready subject for the operation of "Faith," in the concerns of religion ; and the advancement of the new sect at Rome, in spite of the persecutions of the early emperors, was commensurate with the confidence and cordiality which welcomed its introduction. Down almost to the present period, the same peculiarities which marked the first establishment of Christianity amongst the two nations, continued to characterize its respective culture by each. The Greeks, whilst their spirits remained unbroken, ere their minds became totally encrusted with the rust of ignorance, and their intellects paralysed by the apathy of slavery, were the originators

ment were warped and overlaid by the interests and interference of the Church;* the voice of

* "Aucune affaire d'état, aucune paix, aucune guerre, aucune trêve, aucune négociation, aucun mariage, on ne traita que par le ministère des Moines: les conseils du Prince en furent remplis, et les assemblées de la nation presque toutes composées."—Montesquieu, *Grand. et Decad.* c. xxii.

of those polemic disputes which from time to time aroused the animosity and rancour of the followers of Christ; and, whilst the Romans received with implicit reliance the assertions of their spiritual teachers, the restless genius of their fellow-subjects gave rise to those discussions which terminated in schism, and rent in sunder the sacred unity of the church.†

The particulars of these protracted struggles for supremacy between the two prelates, and the alternate ovations, anathemas, and excommunications of each, would be too tedious and uninteresting for minute detail; nor shall I detain the reader by an enumeration of the host of trifling theological controversies, which afforded scope for a display of the haughtiness and ecclesiastical petulance of both parties. Suffice it to state, that as long as the powers of the Eastern empire were such as to command respect, and whilst its monarchs retained a voice in appointing the Bishops of Rome, the influence of the Constantinopolitan patriarch was predominant;—but when the majesty of the sovereign was merged in the decline of his dominions; when a succession of despotic

† "Les Grecs grands parleurs, grands disputants, naturellement sophistes, ne cessèrent d'embrouiller la religion par des controverses," &c.—Montesquieu, *Grand. et Dec.* c. xxii.

policy and patriotism was drowned in the din of polemics and controversy ; and at the very mo-

able princes had degraded the dignity of the throne, and ceased to command the homage of the people, the pre-eminence passed at once into the hands of the Roman Pontiffs, supported as they were by the rising dynasties of Europe. The influence of the latter was likewise acquired in a great degree by the constancy and permanence with which they had maintained their opinions and professions unaltered ; whilst the perpetual and degrading disputes of the Greeks, and their adoption or abandonment of successive tenets, seemed to attach doubt to their doctrines, and argued corruption in their creed, by the necessity of its undergoing such frequent purgations.*

Previous to the contest regarding the use of images, to which I have already briefly alluded,† the attention of the church had been occupied chiefly by the disputes of Arius, concerning the consubstantiality of the Logos ;‡ of Macedonius, who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit ; and of Eutyches, who preached the doctrine of the monophysite nature of the Saviour.§ To these succeeded the celebrated Iconoclastic || commotions, which paved the way for the final separation of the churches. Of this last important revolution, the controversy of Photius, A. D. 850, was the immediate forerunner. This celebrated quarrel was based on the double grounds of political ambition and theological argument. Photius had attained the patriarchal honours on the unjust deposition of Ignatius by Cæsar Bardas, uncle to Michael III. and whilst he was warmly supported by his patron, the cause of the

* Rabbe.

† See p. 62, et seq.

‡ Gibbon, c. xxi.

§ Montesquieu, c. xxi.

|| Montesquieu, Grand. et Decad. c. xxii.

ment when the engines of Mahomet II. were thundering against the walls of Constantinople,

injured prelate was zealously espoused by Nicolas I. one of the most haughty and aspiring of the Roman pontiffs. Councils, embassies, and negotiations without number, attempted in vain to settle the dispute, which perpetual discussion soon ripened into a rankling and irreconcilable hostility, whose asperity was heightened by the contemporary quarrels regarding *the procession of the Holy Spirit*. By the party of Photius, it was maintained that the third person of the Trinity emanated from the Father alone, and that the words *filio que* were an interpolation of the Romans; whilst their opponents, indignant at the charge, continued to chant the obnoxious words in the liturgy of the Vatican, and to hold the Nicene and Athanasian creeds as the test of the Catholic faith.* These controversies continued, with few interruptions, from the eighth to the eleventh century, when the flame broke out afresh, and a final separation was effected between the churches of the East and West. A petulant invective was at this period published by Michael Cerularius, the Byzantine patriarch, against the errors of the pontiffs of Rome. The insult was retorted by Leo IX. whose Legates, in the heart of Constantinople, and at the altar of St. Sophia, excommunicated its author, and consigned him for ever, together with all teachers of error, to the society of the Devil and his angels.† From that period to the present the schism has continued unclosed. As the Eastern empire verged to its annihilation, various efforts were made by its distracted rulers to conciliate the friendship of the Latins, by proposals for the reconciliation of the two communities:

* Gibbon, c. lx.

† A. D. 1054, Gibbon, c. lx. Rabbe, &c.

its rulers were occupied in disputations concerning the sacred light upon Mount Tabor.*

* M. Rabbe.

“ La fureur des disputes devint un état si naturel aux Grecs, que lorsque Cantacuzene† prit Constantinople, il trouva l'Empereur Jean et l'Empératrice Anne occupés à un Concile contre quelques ennemis des Moines; et quand Mahomet II.‡ l'assiégea, il ne put suspendre les haines théologiques, et on y étoit plus occupé du concile de Florence que de l'Armée des Turcs.”—Montesquieu, *Grand. et Decad. c. xxii.*

but all proved alike unproductive of advantage, and in spite of the negotiations of Vatases, of Andronicus II. of John Palæologus, and others, the fatal breach remained, and still remains, unhealed.§ With regard to the peculiar religious opinions of the Greeks, Mr. Williams, in his *Dictionary of all Religions*, has furnished the following concise enumeration of the principal points which distinguish their church from that of the Latins.

1. They maintain that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only, and not from the Father and Son.
2. They disown the authority of the Pope, and deny that the church of Rome is the *only* true Catholic church.
3. They do not affect the character of infallibility, and utterly disallow works of supererogation, and indulgences.
4. They admit of prayers and services for the dead, as an ancient and pious custom; and even pray for the remission of their sins: but they will not admit the doctrine of purgatory, nor determine any thing dogmatically concerning the state of departed

† Cantacuz. L. iii. c. 99.

‡ Ducas, *Hist. des dern. Palæolo.*

§ For a clever dissertation on the improbability and even impossibility of producing, at the present day, a reunion of the two communities, the reader is referred to the work of Zalloni, on the Fanariots, p. 284, *et seq.*

When Mahomet, says Malaxus,* had entered within the walls of Constantinople, he was sur-

* Turco-Græcia, lib. ii. p. 107.

souls. 5. In baptism they practise triune immersion, (or dip three times;) but some, as the Georgians, defer the baptism of their children till they are three, four, or more years of age. 6. The chrism, or baptismal unction, immediately follows baptism. This chrism, solemnly consecrated on Maundy Thursday, is called the unction with ointment, and is a mystery peculiar to the Greek communion, holding the place of confirmation in that of the Roman: it is styled the seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost. 7. They administer the Lord's Supper in both kinds, dipping the bread in the cup of wine, in which a small portion of warm water is also infused. They give it both to the clergy and laity, and to children after baptism. 8. They exclude confirmation and extreme unction out of the number of sacraments; but they use the holy oil, (or euchalion,) which is not confined to persons in the close of life, (like extreme unction,) but is administered, if required, to all sick persons. Three priests, at least, are required to administer this sacrament, each priest, in his turn, anointing the sick person, and praying for his recovery. 9. They deny auricular confession to be a divine command; but practise confession, attended with absolution, and sometimes penance. 10. Though they believe in transubstantiation, (or rather consubstantiation,) they do not worship the elements: but 11. They pay a secondary kind of adoration to the Virgin and other Saints. 12. They do not admit of images or figures in bas-relief, or embossed work; but use paintings and silver shrines.†

† A party, calling themselves Ikonobortsi, are so zealous in their aversion to images, as to discard even paintings from their places of worship.—See Pinkerton's Greek Church, p. 334.

prised that he was not visited by the Patriarch,* whom he expected to have come in order to make his submission. "Where," said he to the assembled ecclesiastics,— "Where is he who bears to me the gifts of your Patriarch, and wherefore does he not approach in person to pay his due submission to his King?"—"Alas!" replied they, "we have now no Patriarch; the last who filled the sacred chair resigned his office, and since that period no other has been found to assume his seat." On hearing this, the anger of the Sultan was appeased, and orders were instantly issued to the clergy for the election of a new chief; "less, however," says the historian, "from a wish to favour our holy religion, than from a hope that the re-establishment of the hierarchy would entice the Greeks who had fled, to re-assemble at Constantinople." A synod being convened, composed of the principal eccle-

13. They admit matrimony to be a sacrament, and celebrate it with great formality. 14. Their secular clergy, under the rank of bishops, are allowed to marry once, and their laymen twice; but fourth marriages they hold in abomination. 15. They observe a great number of holy days, and keep four fasts in the year more solemn than the rest, of which Good Friday is the chief.

* It was towards the end of the sixth century, that this title was first assumed by John, Bishop of Constantinople; a step which was grievously complained of at Rome by Pelagius II. and Gregory, his successor.

siastics who could be found in the capital and its vicinity, George Scholarius, "a most learned and prudent man," was, by unanimous consent, promoted to the vacant chair, under the name of Gennadius.

On the announcement of their decision, and the presentation of Gennadius to the conqueror, the latter inquired of his conductors the ancient form of investment pursued by the emperors, in imitation of which he placed in his hands a staff ornamented with jewels, cast around him an embroidered cloak, and presented him with a thousand golden ducats,* and a horse with gorgeous trappings, on which it was one of his privileges to be permitted to ride in the capital accompanied by his train. Immediately after the investiture of Gennadius, the Sultan, adds Malaxus, repaired to the monastery† which he had conferred on him as a residence, and entering into the sanctuary, solicited a full explanation of all the mysteries and creed of the Christians: these the Patriarch not only de-

* Rabbe, p. 62. Rizo, p. 31. 47. Petit la Croix, p. 105. Crusius, lib. ii. p. 108. Ibid. lib. i. p. 15.

† Mahomet had originally given him for his residence the Temple of the Apostles, but Gennadius, having one night found the body of a man murdered in one of the passages, became alarmed for his own safety, and exchanged his dwelling for the monastery of Pammacharista.—Turco-Gr. l. ii. p. 100.

tailed to him verbally, resolving them into twenty chapters, but also wrote for the Sultan a treatise on each, which, for Mahomet's private use, was translated into Turkish by Achmet, a priest of Berrhoea. "When he had concluded," says the historian, "the Sultan was amazed at his wisdom and divine knowledge, and fully *convinced* of the truth of Christianity, which bore no shadow of deceit, but which, in splendour and purity, was fairer than gold; he instantly conceived the most ardent affection for the followers of the Cross, and enacted the bitterest penalties against those who should molest or calumniate the disciples of Christ. Nor was this all; not only Mahomet, but the whole of his followers, were, according to Malaxus, convinced of their errors; and the Sultan himself was exceedingly rejoiced that he had been so fortunate as to become the monarch of a nation so estimable."*

* 'Ο δὲ σουλτάνος, ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοῦ πατριάρχου, ἄπερ ἐγγράφως τοῦ ἔδωκε, θαύμασε μεγαλως εἰς τὴν θεολογίαν καὶ σοφίαν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐπληροφόρηθ' τὴν πᾶσαν ἀληθειαν περὶ τῆς πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν· ὅτι ἔναι ἀληθινή· καὶ τὰ μυστηρία τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶν ἀληθινὰ καὶ θαυματουργὰ· καὶ κανένα δόλος δὲν ἔναι εἰς αὐτὰ· ἀμὴ καθαρὰ καὶ λαμπρότερα ὑπὲρ τὸ χρυσαφί. Ἀγάπησε δὲ πολλὰ τὸ γένος τῶν χριστιανῶν, καὶ εὐλεπεκαλῶς. Καὶ ὁρίσμων ἔδωκε, καὶ ἔδωκε καὶ ἔλαμε καὶ μεγάλας φοβέρας εἰς ἐκείνους· ὅπως πηράζουσιν, ἢ διαβάλλουσιν τινὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν, να παιδεύονται βαρέως. Καὶ οὐχι μόνον ὁ σουλτάνος ἀγάπα τοὺς χριστιανούς·

To this display of unwonted clemency Mahomet may have been induced by numerous motives, besides that of conciliating his newly-conquered subjects. His generosity, whilst it bore the outward show of kindness, was, in reality, an added tie upon the fidelity, as well as another link attached to the chain of his subjects. By the restoration of the patriarchate and ancient hierarchy of the Greeks, he had, in some degree, reduced them to a kind of organized subordination to one acknowledged head, whose life and liberty were placed in his own hands.* The very act of granting a favour to his slaves was an argument to them of his power to withdraw it, and of course a bond upon their submissive fidelity.† At the same time the

ἀμὴ καὶ ὅλοι οἱ μουσουλμάνοι, ἐνεκὸν τοῦ ὀρισμοῦ τοῦ ἄφροντός.
Ἐλχε δὲ ὁ σουλτάνος μεγάλην χαρὰν καὶ ευφροσύνην ἴσοντας,
ὡς γὰρ τοιοῦτου γένους αὐθέντης καὶ βασιλείας.—Turco-Gr. lib.
ii. p. 119.

* “En donnant dans la personne du Patriarche une tête à tout le nation Grecque, les Sultans pensaient avec raison que cette tête, sur laquelle leur cimenterre était toujours suspendu, ne pourroit se soulever que pour prêcher la liberté dans le ciel et l’esclavage sur la terre.”—Rizo, p. 37.

† Rizo, p. 30.

“Les Turcs traitèrent avec le Patriarche Gennadius comme avec une puissance; ils l’admirent dans leur conseil, et en lui rendant sa dignité; ils s’assurèrent de l’obéissance du peuple entier qu’ils venoient de conquérir.”—Chevalier, Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont Euxin, tom. i. p. 117.

goal of his ambition was still unattained ; there remained many alluring points in Europe which the time was not yet arrived, but perhaps not far distant, for him to attempt ; and though a minor object, it was not altogether a despicable one, to prevent the Greeks from sympathizing or re-uniting with those of the Latins against whom his meditated attacks were designed. Well aware of the arrogance and ambition of every church invested with power, he knew that the inveterate hostility between the Eastern and Western bishops would be in no degree diminished, by the endowing the former with those privileges which, whilst they nursed their pride, would cherish their rancour ;* and if, at some future day, he should find an occasion to carry his arms into Italy, he trusted to the effects of his present clemency for removing the fear of intestine treachery whilst engaged in foreign warfare. His sanction, too, of Genadius' elevation to the supreme dignity was in no degree damped by his knowledge that the learned prelate was one of the most intolerant enemies of the church of Rome ; and the subsequent and strenuous exertions of the latter in his writings, and otherwise, to widen the existing schism, were no doubt dictated as much

* For some details of the hereditary aversion of the Greeks to the Latin church, see Zalloni, p. 138, et seq.

by political subserviency as theological aversion.*

With regard to the church in general, it had been stipulated, on the surrender of Constantinople, that the edifices of public worship should remain as before in the hands of the Christians, and that their marriages, interments, and other ceremonies, should be unmolested. Amongst other privileges, they were to have full permission to celebrate, in its usual form, the feast of Easter, and the gates of the city were to be left open for three nights in each year for the convenience of those inhabitants of the suburbs who chose to attend its solemnization.†

It is true, that their stipulations did not remain long unbroken,‡ but partial restitution,

* "Gennadius, adversaire obstiné de l'église Latine, se déclara avec plus d'impétuosité contre elle en montant sur ce trône spirituel. Esclave, hors de l'église, il voulait être libre et indépendant dans son enceinte. Peut-être sa tenacité contre les Catholiques fut-elle motivée par le désir d'inspirer au Sultan une confiance complète envers les Chrétiens de l'église d'Orient, en les lui faisant voir tout-à-fait séparés des Latins. Ainsi il composait et il faisait composer des ouvrages polémiques," &c.—Rizo, p. 47.

† Pouqueville, *Regen. de la Grece*, v. i. p. 6.—Rizo, 27.

‡ Zalloni, p. 136. "Cependant les Grecs se sont plaints que plusieurs des clauses de ce traité n'avaient pas été observées. Ainsi par exemple la jalousie du peuple Musulman leur ravit bientôt l'église des apôtres, et les patriarches furent

fresh favours, or a douceur to the Patriarch, readily quelled remonstrance where opposition was unavailing; and during a long succession of years, the Greeks continued, with childish vanity, to parade this gilded link of their chain, which gave them a semblance of liberty, by enlarging the narrow circle of their cell.

One of the earliest and most despotic aggressions committed against them was that of Selym I. the grandson of Mahomet; who being a more zealous believer, or less wily politician than his progenitor, wished at one blow to get rid of the schisms and infidelity of the Greeks. For this purpose he obtained a fetfa from the

obligées de se contenter, pour eux et pour leur culte, d'un moins vaste edifice.—Rabbe, p. 62.

“But how ancient this church was, with what zeal it began, with what glory and magnificence it shined, under the protection and succour of its nursing fathers, the Grecian emperors, is not our theme in this following treatise: but one subject here is more tragical, the subversion of the sanctuaries of religion, the royal priesthood expelled their churches, and those converted into moschs; the mysteries of the altar concealed in secret and dark places—for such I have seen in cities and villages where I have travelled, rather like vaults and sepulchres than churches, having their roofs almost levelled with the superficies of the earth, lest the most ordinary exsurgency of structure, should be accused for triumph of religion, and to stand in competition with the lofty spires of the Mahomedan moschs.”—Sir Paul Rycault, *Present State of Greek and Armenian Churches*, Anno Christi 1678, c. i. p. 12.

Mufti, which he placed in the hands of his Vizier, with directions to convert every church throughout the empire into a mosque, and to compel the giaours, by menaces, tortures, or even death, to embrace the faith of the Prophet. The Divan, alarmed at his irrational mandate, immediately communicated with the Patriarch and the Synod, but it was in vain that they urged to Selym the mercy enjoined by the Koran, or the clemency confirmed to them by the charter of his grandsire. The Mufti succeeded in convincing him of the error of his attempted proselytism alone; but though he abandoned this, he ordered, without delay, that all the churches built of stone should be seized for the worship of the faithful, and that the Greeks should be left in possession of those only which were constructed of wood, with permission to purchase the right of repairing them as often as they might fall into decay.* Down to a very late period this law continued to be in force, though its provisions were without difficulty evaded by pecuniary intermediation; and whilst, in the more free and northern portions of Greece, but little

* Rabbe, from Ali Effendi.

For an account of the churches and ecclesiastical situation of Athens, see Père Babin, p. 15; Sir George Wheeler, p. 349; De la Guilletiere, p. 149, &c.

attention was paid to the restrictive ordinance of the Porte, it was always necessary to procure a firman for the erection of even the most trifling chapel in the Morea or the South.*

The *revenues* of the Greek Church arose from two sources; the first consisted of the sums paid from year to year by the metropolitans† and bishops, which might amount to about one hundred thousand piastres; and the second, from the tribute which the same prelates were expected to deposit on the nomination to their respective Sees. The former sums were nearly equal in amount from year to year,

* “De cette liberté presque absolue des Montagnards, aussi bien dans la vie politique que dans l'exercice de leur culte, il s'ensuivait qu'ils pouvaient à leur gré, ou du moins en payant certaines taxes, embellir, réparer leur églises, même construire de nouvelles. Dans les basses terres, au contraire, il fallait un firman de la Porte pour élever la moindre chapelle.”—Carrel, c. iii. p. 120.

† This ecclesiastical rank was first instituted in the third century, and was afterwards confirmed by the Council of Nice. The Roman Empire being divided into 13 dioceses, and 120 provinces, the title of Metropolitan was conferred on the bishop resident in the chief town of each province, who was likewise endowed with the right of appointing his own suffragans, and of receiving appeals from sentences passed by them.

“Metropolitan is a title given to the bishop of the *chief city* of a province.”—Bower's Hist. Pop. v. i. p. 110.—See Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, title “Bishop.”—Gibbon, c. xv.

but the latter were, of course, uncertain, and varied according to the number of vacancies, or the value of the respective dioceses.* From the possession of this revenue, likewise, the Greeks were enabled to derive another claim upon the kindness of their masters. The treasury of the Church was formed into a kind of bank, from whence sums were not unfrequently lent to the Turkish Government,† and deposits, chiefly from orphans, were here placed as in a spot of sacred security, whilst, at the same time, the Synod paid a handsome interest for sums entrusted to its custody.

To the Porte, the annual contributions of the Church, as well fixed as arbitrary, were immense. Exclusive of the stated tribute of 40,000 piastres, it was forced to make to each new minister who succeeded to any important post, a present which was expected to be magnificent; and when, as was not unfrequently the case, the Divan complained of the losses entailed by the turbulence of the Greeks, the Synod was, on each occasion, compelled to open the treasury, in order to appease their irritation, and avert their wrath.

* "Ceux des plus petits et pauvres payaient 10,000 piastres; ceux des plus grands et des plus riches en payaient jusqu'à 250,000."—Rabbe, p. 77.

† Rizo, p. 33.

Besides this, it was burthened with the expenses attendant on maintaining the Patriarchal Church, and when all things are considered, the nominal revenue of the body; though speciously ample, fell often far short of its oppressive disbursements.* Its affairs were managed by a committee chosen annually;

* “Après cela il faut ajouter que les finances de l’église Grecque, malgré les soins du comité et ses sages réglemens, étaient toujours dans la plus grande détresse. Son fardeau était trop lourd, et ses revenus trop bornés. Il faut remarquer en outre qu’ils n’avaient pas cette fixité, source de toute bonne administration financière, mais qui ne se trouve que dans le revenu foncier. A l’époque de la révolution, l’église devait plus de 3000 bourses, non compris les dettes de diocèses. La bourse, comme on sait, vaut 500 piastres.”—Rabbe, p. 80.

“The debts of the Church, in the year 1672, (as I was informed by the Bishop of Smyrna,) amounted unto 700 purses of money, which makes 350,000 dollars; the interest of which increasing daily, and rigorously extorted by the power of the most covetous and considerable Turkish officers, who lend or supply the money, is the reason and occasion that the Patriarch often summons all his archbishops and bishops to appear at Constantinople, that so they may consult and agree on an expedient to ease, in some measure, the present burden and pressure of their debts; the payment of which is often the occasion of new demands: for the Turks, finding this fountain the fresher, and more plentifully flowing for being drained, continually suck from this stream, which is to them more sweet, for being the blood of the poor, and the life of Christians.”—Rycault, p. 97, 98.

and consisting of four Metropolitans, four of the secular clergy, and four deputies from the people.*

Connected with the ecclesiastical affairs of Greece, one of the most important bodies was the *Grand Synod*, a supreme assembly, composed, according to the edict of Mahomet II. of twelve Archbishops,† chosen by the Patriarch of Constantinople, (who was its president,) besides those of Heraclea, Cyzicum, Chalcedon, and Drekos. It took cognizance of all the affairs of the Greek people, as well secular as spiritual, but its influence extended chiefly to the election of bishops, archbishops, and the minor patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch.‡

It was the medium of communication between the Greeks and the Porte, and through it were forwarded all the firmans of the Sultan regarding them.§ With it also rested the power of annulling or confirming the decrees of the minor prelates in their relative sees.

* *Resumé Geogr. de M. G. A. M.*

† Its numbers afterwards varied considerably.

‡ Rizo, p. 33. The patriarch of Jerusalem names his own successor.—Rabbe, p. 90.

§ *Resumé Geogr. de la Grèce et Turquie d'Europe par M. G. A. M. citoyen Grec*, p. 352. Rizo, Carrel, Rabbe, &c. &c.

Each member had likewise under his patronage a certain number of individuals from among the absent clergy ; and by this means, the wishes of the entire body were brought before the Synod as well with an individual anxiety for the interest of the client, as a prudent regard for the honour of the church.

In this important assembly was vested the right of electing the new *patriarch of Constantinople* on the death or deposition of his predecessor. The latter event was one of by no means rare occurrence,* either owing to the jealousy and factions of the Synod, whose petition to the Porte is sufficient to remove their chief,† or arising from the avarice of the Divan, who gain a handsome sum by the installation of each supreme prelate. Simony, in fact, was very early in the reign of Mahomet II. intro-

* Dr. Hunt, in his account of Mount Athos, mentions having met a Father Joachim, at the convent of St. Gregorie on the Holy Mountain, who, in his character of a mendicant caloyer, had travelled over the greater portion of European Turkey and the shores of the Black Sea, begging alms for his convent. " On different visits," says the Doctor, " to the Fanal at Constantinople, he had paid his homage to twenty-four patriarchs, namely, fourteen grand patriarchs of the Greek church, four of Alexandria, and six of Jerusalem ! Such is the rapid succession of these envied dignitaries."—Walpole's Turkey, vol. i. p. 213.

† Rizo, p. 32.

duced into the church, and the fourth Patriarch, Marcus Chylocobares, having obtained his election by a *douceur* to the Sultan, was displaced in consequence of Symeon of Trebizond offering 1000 ducats for his seat, whilst he, in turn, was ousted by Dionysius of Philippopolis, who obtained his removal by the deposit of a similar sum.* One hundred thousand piastres was afterwards fixed as the stipulated fee; and as the Porte could not of itself, without some specific charge, depose the head of the Greek church,† it had always sufficient influence with the Synod to induce them to second its views, and solicit the installation of a new patriarch.‡

* Carrel, p. 104. *Turco-Græcia*, lib. ii. pp. 124, 125, 126. *Petit de la Croix*, c. xxxv.

† Rizo, p. 33.

‡ "This contention between the Greek clergy for the patriarchal power at Constantinople hath begotten many troubles in the church; for such whom ambition and covetousness excite with a desire of this ecclesiastical preferment, and having some riches of their own, and credit to make up the rest at interest, seldom or never miss the prize they pursue; for the arguments of gifts and benefits are so prevalent with the Grand Vizier and other Turkish officers, that they can afford easier admittance to the most frivolous accusation that may be objected against the present incumbent; by which means the patriarch is often changed, and the debts of the church increased, and the election rather in the hands of Turks than the bishops; the one being guided by bribes, and the other by faction."—Rycault, p. 97, et seq.

A step of this nature being decided on, an officer was despatched to announce to the patriarch his deposition, and accompany him to his future residence (generally in Asia), from whence he was expected to forward his resignation to the Synod. In the mean time the proceedings of that assembly were conducted with much state and formality, and the report of this new election was forwarded to the Sultan, with a request that the object of their choice should be admitted to an audience of his sovereign. The wonted ceremonies of installation were then performed, and the new patriarch was with all solemnity invested with the emblems of his pontifical honours.*

* After receiving the visits of the Vizier and the Ottoman ministers, a ceremony accompanied by all the pomp of Orientalism, the patriarch proceeded to the gate of the church, where he deposited the white robe embroidered with golden flowers, with which he had been presented by the Sultan, and having received the honours of installation according to the ancient rights of the Eastern Church, the Synod and the nation saluted him as head of the church, (Rabbe, Rizo, &c.)

These ceremonies do not appear to have been in all cases attended to. "Formerly," says Sir Paul Rycault, "it was with the solemnity and formality before premised; but the daily contests introduced that confusion and contempt for the office as hath left no place for honour or respect, so that a patriarch ascends his throne and takes hold of the mitre and crosier with as little ceremony as an ordinary priest

The revenue of the head of the Eastern Church, though not very considerable,* was sufficient to enable him to live with a magnificence suitable to his prelatic dignity, to be liberal in his acts of charity, and occasionally to secure a sufficient resource in the event of his deposition by the Porte.†

The source which contributed most amply to supply his coffers, was the sale of church dignities, and the presents made by each inferior ecclesiastic at the period of his nomination to office. As Bishop of Constantinople, he was entitled to a handsome fee for the enregistering of the wills of all the Greeks, as well foreigners as natives, who chanced to die at the capital; and in right of the same office, he inherited their effects on the death of every monk and recluse throughout the empire.‡ As a civil magistrate, he was constantly in the receipt of large sums from his clients, which, together with an annual gift of from 2 to 3000 piastres from the church, the presents of his metropolitans, bishops and other strangers visiting the capital,

or curate takes possession of his living or vicarage, or when he takes hold of the ring of the church door." p. 107.

* Rycault.

† Rabbe, p. 77. Carrel, p. 106.

‡ Except those who had surviving relatives to whom they wished to bequeath their property.

his *douceurs* for granting certain privileges to particular monasteries, and other minor sources of profit, raised his annual income to a sum equal in general to all ordinary demands.*

Scholarius received from Mahomet II. the title of *Patriki Roum*, or Patriarch of the Romans; by the Greeks his successors continued to be styled Archbishops of Constantinople, Bishops of New Rome, or Œcumenic Patriarchs: they were addressed by the epithet of "despot" and "most holy;" and their person was guarded by a band of Janissaries assigned to their service by the Divan.†

As the medium of communication between the Sultan and his Christian subjects, the influ-

* "The Patriarch of Constantinople, who was so great and opulent under the Christian emperors, is now reduced to a narrow fortune, being deprived of his certain and settled revenue by the violence and sacrilege of the common enemy to the church of Christ; so that the chief income is accidental, arising from the death of bishops, archbishops, and ordinary priests, and from such as are consecrated and admitted into their dioceses and parishes. What a deceased priest leaves (not having children) accrues to the patriarch, as to the common father and heir of them all, from which arises a considerable revenue every year.

"The other patriarchal sees, by reason of the paucity and poverty of the Christians, are worse provided; but yet being far from the court, have not so many necessities to satisfy."

—Rycault, pp. 112, 113.

† Rabbe, 69. Rizo, pp. 35, 39.

ence of the Patriarch of Constantinople with the Porte was considerable.* He had a right of presenting in his own name petitions on matters of minor importance, but in those which regarded the nation at large he was obliged to have the concurrence of the Grand Synod.†

As bishop of the metropolis, he exercised in Constantinople a civil jurisdiction, similar to that which the other prelates possessed in the several provinces; and was assisted in his functions by a synod composed of the officers of his court and a number of lay ministers nominated by himself. This tribunal, which sat twice in every week, was empowered to take cognizance of all causes among the Greeks, as well civil as ecclesiastical. Its practice and decisions were founded on the Basilics, but were sometimes regulated by usage and precedent; and its powers extended to the fining, imprisonment, and even, occasionally, capital punishment

* "The influence of the Patriarch with the Porte is very extensive, as far as his own nation is concerned. His memorials are never denied, and he can, in fact, command the death, the exile, imprisonment for life, deposition from office, or pecuniary fine of any Greek he may be inclined to punish with rigour, or who has treated his authority with contempt."—Dallaway, p. 101.

† Rizo, p. 32.

of the criminal.* A prison was likewise set apart for the delinquents condemned by this court; and the minister of the Marine was directed to receive and retain on board the galleys all persons conducted to him by the Janissaries of the Patriarch.

It was permitted to Christians sentenced to death by the Turkish authorities, to preserve their lives by embracing Mahometanism and receiving the turban; but this immunity did not extend to those condemned by the tribunal of the Greek prelate; whilst he, on the other hand, could rescue from death a Christian sentenced by the Ottomans, and commute his punishment to confinement in the galleys. These, with a number of others of less importance, comprised the offices, privileges, and

* Rabbé. "Quand le Patriarche veut exiler un Chrétien de Constantinople ou de quelque province de l'empire Ottoman, il adresse alors par son agent une petition à la Porte pour demander le *firman*, ou ordre d'exil. La Porte y acquiesce immédiatement, et ces ne sont pas les officiers de gouvernement, mais les Janissaires du Patriarche, qui conduisent les coupables aux lieux de leur exil. Ceux qui éprouvent un pareil châtiment d'après la demande du Patriarche, ne peuvent être enlargis que sur une nouvelle requête du chef de la religion."—Rizo, p. 34.

This tribunal was frequently resorted to by the Turks themselves. "Il arriva souvent que des Turcs et des Juifs ayant des procès avec des Chrétiens préféraient le tribunal du Patriarche à tout autre."—Rabbe, 69.

power of the Patriarch of Constantinople; as to those of the other three, namely, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, they varied in many essential particulars from their metropolitan colleague.

The second in rank is the *Patriarch of Alexandria*, though his power and jurisdiction are by no means equal to those of his colleagues. His precedency dates, however, from a period when he had a crowd of ecclesiastics submitted to his orders; but now his glory has passed away, his splendid titles alone remain, and four titular bishops compose the court of "The Pope and Patriarch of Egypt," "the Father of Fathers," "Pastor of Pastors," "Pontiff of Pontiffs," "The Third of the Apostles," and "The Judge of the Universe!"* This pompous dignitary enjoys almost a sinecure in his domain; despised by the Arabs, overlooked by the Viceroy, and supported by the merchants of Egypt, and the Kopts and Roman Catholics, who are forced

* The Patriarch of Constantinople, besides the extent of his jurisdiction, is of greater power, by reason of his vicinity to the court: but the Alexandrian is of greater authority in his ecclesiastical censures and civil regimen, styling himself *Τῆς οἰκουμένης Κεφαλῆς*, or Judge of the World. And the Patriarchs of Antiochia and Jerusalem, by reason of their poverty, not having sufficient to subsist, are little revered by the Turks, or their own people.—Rycault.

by a decree of the Porte to contribute to his maintenance in conjunction with the few Greeks who inhabit the provinces submitted to him.* The *Patriarch of Antioch*, but a shade more exalted in actual power, enjoys the same titles with his brother of Alexandria, and reckons twenty bishops within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The contributions of the Catholics were, however, his chief source of revenue; and driven from his dominions by indigence and a lack of means to support his dignity at home, he was obliged to retire, together with the Patriarch of Egypt, to reside at the capital.

Of the four, however, the most impoverished was the *Patriarch of Jerusalem*, who enjoyed nevertheless, from the title of his sacred office, a degree of veneration peculiarly inherent to aught connected with the name of the Saviour, or the scene of his sufferings. His ordinary residence was likewise at Constantinople, and his maintenance was derived from the coffers of the Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre. This sacred treasure is reported to be the accumulated riches of ages, and the gifts and bequests of successive emperors and princes of Europe. To the present hour its hoards are said to be still increasing; every prosperous Greek is supposed to

* Rabbe, p. 88. Sir Paul Rycault, &c.

leave some portion of his property to swell the already countless heap ; and its fanatic devotees will, even in dying, wrong their surviving relatives in order to contribute their lands to the wealth of the holy treasury. The secret of its depository is known only to the monk who guards the inestimable charge, and transmits to his successor the knowledge of the hidden retreat where it lies concealed. Such is the tale related by the Greeks, which, however it may savour of Orientalism, is still involved in some obscurity ; and it is said that the Sultans have been from time to time so convinced of its existence, as to make many but fruitless efforts to secure for themselves the guardianship of this mysterious treasure.*

The archbishops and metropolitans received, on their election by the Synod,† the style of “Most Sacred,” and the rank of Despots‡ in their own dominions. The expenses attendant on their installation, and the presents expected to be made by them to the ecclesiastical treasury, they were obliged to deposit at the period of their nomination ; and if their means were unequal to the demand, the Church was accus-

* Rabbe.

† The Synod had no power to displace the archbishops as it could the bishops and inferior clergy.—Rizo, *note*, p. 32.

‡ For the origin of this term, see Gibbon, chap. liii.

tomed to guarantee their debt to the banker of whom they borrowed the requisite sums. With the payment of these their dioceses were afterwards burthened ; and even the decease or removal of the incumbent did not release his successor from the obligation.*

The style of *the bishops* was that of "The Most Beloved of God," and their influence in their several sees was of the same nature, though proportionally less extensive than that of their head at Constantinople. During the theological administration of the emperors in the middle ages, the number of archbishops and bishops had been ridiculously great, one thousand being quartered in the Greek, and eight hundred in the Latin provinces of the empire;† but under the reign of the Ottomans, they were reduced to the more rational complement of one hundred and fifty,‡ (of whom sixty were suffragans,§) and submitted to the government of the

* Rabbe.

† Gibbon.

‡ One hundred and seventy, according to Zalloni. "Les Archevêques et Evêques sont au nombre de cent septante environ," &c.—Essai sur les Fanariots, p. 137, *note*.

§ The use of the term *suffragans*, at the present day, varies considerably from that which it originally bore.|| It

|| It is now generally applied to any "bishop considered as subject to his metropolitan," (Johnson,) or the archbishop

several patriarchs.* By the clemency of the Porte they were exempt from the payment of

appears to have been unknown before the eighth century; but after that period we have frequent mention both of Suffragans (or *Chorepiscopi*), and coadjutors. The former being duly consecrated by the archbishop was appointed to assist the bishop of his diocese in the discharge of his sacred functions;† whilst the latter, without any episcopal ordination, were his colleagues in matters referring to his civil jurisdiction.‡

* Three alone preserved a kind of independence of any

on whom he depends, and to whom appeals lie from their bishops' official: (Rees.) In this sense the Archbishop of Canterbury has twenty-one suffragans, and York four.

† "In former times many bishops had their suffragans, who were also consecrated as other bishops were; these, in the absence of the bishops upon embassies, or in multiplicity of business, did supply their places in matters of orders, but not of jurisdiction. They were anciently called *Chorepiscopi*, or bishops of the country, by way of distinction from the proper bishops of the city or see. They were also called subsidiary bishops, or bishops suffragan, from *suffragari*, to help or assist."—God. 30. Gibs. 134. Wood's Inst. p. 28.

"Suffraganeus, properly, is a vicerent of a bishop, instituted to aid and assist him in his spiritual office, and is so called à suffragiis."—2 Co. Inst. 79. Comment on Stat. Merton.

‡ This practice obtained likewise in England, where the *suffragans* and *coadjutors* bore the offices respectively assigned to them above. By 28 Hen. VIII. c. 14. the diocesan of any see, therein named, was permitted to nominate two persons, of whom the king was to select one, to act as suffragan, his power, profit, and duty to depend on the diocesan by whom he was put in nomination.

all taxes, imposts, and tributes;* they could be judged by no other court than one of their peers, or that of the Divan;† the sumptuary laws of the Ottomans were relaxed in their favour; and they were permitted to dress with the same magnificence as the *grandees* of the

ecclesiastical government, namely those of Ochrida in Bulgaria, Pekin in Albania, (who had under his jurisdiction the clergy of Servia,) and the Archbishop of Cyprus, the latter of whom, down to the period of the late revolution, assumed a kind of regal state in his insular domain, clothing himself in purple, bearing a sceptre in lieu of a crosier, and using in his correspondence, scarlet ink and wax.

“The island of Cyprus was in its ecclesiastical government subjected once to the Patriarch of Antioch; but afterwards by the Council of Ephesus at canon the eighth, and the same again confirmed by the grace and favour of Justinian the emperor, (whose mother was a Cypriot by birth), this church was made absolute and independent of any other, and a privilege given to Anthemius, the archbishop in that age, to subscribe his name to all public acts in red letters, which was an honour above that of any patriarch, who writes his name or form in black characters: the which was afterwards confirmed by the authority of Zenó, the Emperor. This favour and indulgence was granted in honour of the apostle Barnaby, who primarily governed this diocese, where now his sepulchre remains.”—Rycault's *State of Gr. and Arm.*, pp. 89, 90.

* This was only whilst they resided on the diocese, those who chose to fix their abode at Constantinople being placed on the same footing with the other *rayahs*.

† This was a remnant of the ancient civil power conceded them by the early Christian emperors.—See Gibbon, ch. xx.

empire :* they were the sole administrators of the affairs of their church and religion ; they were the protectors of the rights accorded to the Greeks,† and the chief magistrates in every diocese, from whence, in conjunction with their several synods, they had the power of sending their condemned Christian offenders to the prison of the metropolitan. From the possession of this authority it might be supposed that their means of benefiting the community, and guarding the rights of the Greeks, would be extensive. Unfortunately, however, two powerful causes served to counteract their interference ; one, that corruption with which their order was so thoroughly tainted ; and the other, the light regard in which they were esteemed by the Turks. It is not natural to suppose that a mercenary judge should be insensible to the seductions of a bribe, or that successful mediation should be afforded by one who himself trembled at the frown of the common oppressor.‡

Up to the year 1770, the revenues of the mi-

* Petit de la Croix, c. iv. &c. This favour, though highly gratifying to the vanity of the Greeks, was considerably curtailed in later times by the Turkish authorities.

† A privilege, as I have before mentioned, not always sacredly respected.

‡ See Pouqueville, chap. xii. Chandler, p. 120. Stuart's Athens, vol. i. Introd. p. x.

nor prelates were considerable; and this, united with their civil jurisdiction and saintly authority, rendered them the almost sole noblesse amongst their degenerated countrymen. After the attempts of the Russians in that year, however, to arouse the Greeks to arms, and the ardour with which they were seconded by the clergy, the Porte deemed it expedient to seize upon the property of the bishops, which was then transferred to the mosques and imarets.* A new tax was thus cast upon the monasteries, and flocks of the hierarchy, whose support was afterwards borne by arbitrary† taxes laid upon every circumstance and ceremony, whether of life or death, which required the officiation of a priest.‡ But national pride, as well as a feeling of devotion, tended to open the hearts of their people; their contributions were numerous and costly, and at the breaking out of the late insurrection, the steady revenues of numbers of the prelates were already equal to the period of their former pomp. Every year the archbishops and bishops were accustomed, either personally or by a suffragan, as legate, to visit their diocese for the purpose of collect-

* Houses of Relief for the Poor.

† "C'est à dire suivant la fortune présumée des personnes."—Rabbe.

‡ Carrel, p. 110.

ing their revenue, and receiving the offerings of their flocks, which formed the largest proportion of their income,* and of deciding those civil causes which might be brought before them. These annual visitations were made with peculiar pomp and ostentation, the prelates alternately entertaining, or being entertained by, the Turkish governors, and each vying with the other in ruinous displays of profusion and magnificence.

The inferior clergy, or pappas, were extremely numerous throughout every district of the empire. In a country where there were no established institutions for national instruction, it may naturally be supposed that the preliminary education of an humble priest was not much attended to: the only qualifications requisite were those, in fact, which from time immemorial had been required of the candidates for holy orders; namely, to read, to write, and understand the words of ancient Greek contained in the Liturgy of their Church. The labourer, the shepherd, or the mechanic, who could master these, wanted but a few piastres to discharge the fees of his ordination, and be appointed as supernumerary priest of his parish. The duties of their office were merely to perform by rote the service of

* Carrel, p. 106.

one of the myriads of little chapels which piety and superstition have raised in every valley and mountain of Greece ; and their support arose from the purchase of exorcisms* and absolutions, and the fees bestowed for officiating at the baptisms, marriages, interments, and other ceremonies of the Greeks. When these were inadequate to supply the necessities of life, they were permitted by the Church to betake themselves to other and less exalted callings ; and the most ordinary trades and occupations were, throughout the week, performed by those who on the Sabbath attended at the mass and the altar.

Beyond this humble path the pappas has no prospect of farther exaltation, since the dignitaries of his profession were chosen from the more assuming and instructed orders of the monks. The aspirings of ambition being thus suppressed, he was forced to apply himself with ardour to his calling, and, by conciliating the affections of his flock, enhance as highly as possible the advantages placed within his reach. Ignorant and uninstructed himself, he gave full credit to the superstitions which he transmitted to his flock, and which were received with a confidence in their truth proportionable to the earnestness with which they were de-

* Pouqueville, c. xii.

livered. At the same time, the reverence attached to his sacred character served, in despite of his poverty, to exalt him in the eyes of his countrymen ; and he became at once the director, the adviser, the friend, and the companion of those who tilled the same fields, or pursued the same occupations with himself.* Thus, whilst the higher clergy were too often looked upon as the agents of tyranny, or the tools of political corruption, the unaspiring priest, in spite of his ignorance, endued, as it were, with an evangelical instinct,† sympathised with the sorrows, and shared in the joys of his people, and abandoning himself to them, made up for any deficiency of ecclesiastical dignity by a fraternal affection, which was rendered doubly dear by the misfortunes and misery of those on whom it was bestowed. In the evening, when the labours of the day were finished, the pastor of the mountain assembled with his parishioners at one of their unadorned chapels, on the hills, to chant the vesper hymns to the Virgin ; on the festival and the feast, when the service of the morning was concluded, he joined with enthusiasm in all their gaiety and rejoicings, he had his seat at their festive board, and

* Depping, *La Grèce*, vol. i. p. 32, 33. Carrel, p. 119.

† “ Un instinct evangelique.”—Rabbe.

his place in the evening dance, nor did his hilarity and mirth render him less dear, or less venerated in the eyes of those who had yet to learn that cheerfulness was sin, and that ascetic melancholy alone was suited to the dignified sobriety of Christianity.*

Unfortunately, however, this state of primitive simplicity was confined almost exclusively to the mountainous and less frequented retreats, whilst, in the more populous districts, the character of the lower clergy was debased and infamous in the extreme.† It was natural, however, that this corruption should be expected to exist amongst an impoverished and needy priesthood, in the midst of a superstitious and uneducated people. In order to encrease the gains of the former, it was necessary that the latter should be kept in the darkest ignorance, and impressed with the blindest veneration for the forms of religion and the powers of the Church. Thus the incomes of the pappas were always in porportion to the prevalence of crime, since the more degenerated and vicious the people, the more amply would absolutions and penances enrich the revenues of the Church. They had thus, in numerous districts, gained so great an ascendancy, as to persuade their parishioners that no import-

* Carrel, p. 120.

† Pouqueville, c. xii.

ant action of their lives was likely to be successful without the benediction of the Church, and no crime (save one against herself) so flagrant as not to be pardoned by her interposition. By this means the importance of the priesthood was ever sedulously maintained, and abstractedly revered by the Greeks, at the very moment when they most despised the persons of its functionaries. The most lawless were its dupes; no pirate would venture on one of his marauding expeditions without first obtaining the blessing of his spiritual guardian; the brigands of the Morea and of Thessaly were accustomed to hang up a votive portion of their spoils in the chapels of the monks; and an instance is related of an archbishop, who, being robbed in the mountains, was threatened with death, unless he would grant absolution to his assailants.* So successful were

* Pouqueville.

“Toute la Grèce est remplie de ces moines, dont presque aucun ne sait lire, mais qui tous connaissent jusqu'où peut aller l'empire de la religion sur des âmes superstitieuses. Ils ont assujéti la foule credule de leurs compatriotes qu'ils gouvernent à leur gré; et souvent complices de leurs crimes, ils en partagent, ils en absorbent le profit. Il n'y a point de pirates qui n'aient avec eux un caloyer, ou un papas, pour les absoudre du crime à l'instant même où ils le commettent. Toujours cruels parce qu'ils sont lâches, ces misérables ne manquent jamais de massacrer l'équipage des bâtimens qu'ils surprennent, et après les avoir pillés, ils les

the efforts of these disseminators of superstition, that the rights of the Church were considered paramount to the rights of humanity ; and the wretch who had just risen from the perpetration of a thousand enormities, would shudder at the

coulent à fond pour soustraire tout indice de leurs attentats : mais aussitôt prosternés aux pieds du ministre, quelques mots les reconcilient avec la Divinité, calment leurs consciences, et les encouragent à de nouveaux crimes, en leur offrant une ressource assurée contre de nouveaux remords. Ces absolutions sont taxées ; chaque prêtre a un tarif des péchés qu'il doit remettre. Ils font plus ; ils vont au-devant des alarmes que le crime pourrait inspirer à d'autres scélérats, qui mêlant la faiblesse à la ferocité, craindraient de périr immédiatement après leurs forfaits, et avant que de s'en être fait absoudre, ils les rassurent, ils les excitent," &c.—Choiseul Gouffier.

" Basili was also extremely gallant amongst his own persuasion, and had the greatest veneration for the Church, mixed with the highest contempt of churchmen, whom he cuffed upon occasion in a most heterodox manner ; yet he never passed a church without crossing himself ; and I remember the risk he ran in entering St. Sophia, in Stamboul, because it had once been a place of his worship. On remonstrating with him on his inconsistent proceedings, he invariably answered, ' Our Church is holy, our priests are thieves ;' and then he crossed himself, as usual, and boxed the ears of the first pappas who refused to assist in any required operation, as was always found to be necessary where a priest had any influence with the Cogia-bashi of his village. Indeed, a more abandoned race of miscreants cannot exist than the lower orders of the Greek clergy."—Byron.

idea of tasting fresh meat during a fast;* the one was an expiable offence in the eyes of Heaven, but the other was a crime against that Mediator through whose intercession alone he was taught to hope for mercy.

This abandonment was not, however, as I

* Pouqueville, c. xii. Petit de la Croix, c. iv. p. 18. Spon, vol. ii. 351, &c. &c. These rigid fasts were another source of profit to the clergy; since they were so severe as to be often too violent an effort for the continence of nature, and their infringements were only pardoned at an exorbitant ransom to the absolving confessor. Thus, one of the Greek prelates is represented by the Author of the Essay on the Fanariots as having said to him—

“ Vous croyez peut-être, me dit le Prélat, que les six mois de jeûne ordonnés par nos institutions n'ont été imposés que dans des vues purement religieuses; si vous le croyez, vous êtes dans l'erreur, il entre dans cette obligation beaucoup de politique et plus encore d'intérêt. Si un pénitent déclare avoir enfreint l'observation de ce jeûne, son confesseur l'absout, mais au moyen d'une amende quelconque; et cette amende profite au prêtre; elle fait partie de ses revenus. Si elle se trouve au dessus des facultés pécuniaires du pénitent, comme elle est un *sine qua non*, l'absolution lui est refusée, et partout la participation au sacrement de l'Eucharistie; et s'il lui arrive qu'il réponde à ces privations par trop d'indifférence, s'il ne vient pas solliciter la diminution de l'amende, il encourt l'excommunication, qui entraîne avec elle les conséquences les plus graves; car l'excommunié est chassé de son village, du sein de l'Eglise et de la société, heureux si sous une prétexte quelconque on ne trouve pas le moyen de l'envoyer aux galères!”—Zalloni, p. 167, 8.

have said, to be found universally prevalent, and existed only where the poverty of the clergy inclined them to recklessness and debasement, or where the wealth of the people operated as an incitement to the artifices or prostitution of the priesthood.

A proportion, likewise, of the censure which has been so unsparingly cast upon the lower clergy of the Greeks, has arisen from confounding them with the caloyers and monks attached to the numerous convents seated in the richest and most romantic spots of the country. The mania for retirement and religious seclusion, and the rage for erecting monasteries and religious houses, which in the fourth and fifth century began to spread over Italy and the Western world, was not long in reaching the East, where it was received with equal enthusiasm, and pursued with even increased avidity. The example of ascetic retirement displayed by Antony*

* "*Egypt, the fruitful parent of superstition*, afforded the first example of the monastic life. Antony, an illiterate youth of the lower parts of the Thebais, distributed his patrimony, deserted his family and native home, and executed his monastic penance with original and intrepid fanaticism.† After a long and painful noviciate among the tombs, and in a ruined tower, he boldly advanced into the desert, three days'

† A. D. 305.

and Pachomius in Egypt,* was quickly imi-

journey to the eastward of the Nile, discovered a lonely spot which possessed the advantages of shade and water, and fixed his last residence on Mount Colzim, near the Red Sea, where an ancient monastery still preserves the name and memory of the Saint."—Gibbon, c. xxxvii.†

* The piety of Antony was imitated by Pachomius, who occupied a small island in the Nile, (called Tabenne,) in the diocese of Tentyra, or Dendera, between the modern town of Girgé and the ruins of ancient Thebes.‡

† There is something singular in the coincidence of the Greek mythology and the Christian Church being each *immediately* indebted to Egypt for this remarkable feature in their religious constitution. Pythagoras, who introduced solitude and retirement into his code of discipline, received from the priests of Egypt and Chaldæa both his doctrines of the metempsychosis and his system of moral conduct, which were afterwards disseminated so widely by Zamolxis and his other disciples. By almost every sect, however, with which we are acquainted, a veneration for seclusion seems to have been maintained, and all appear to have believed, that that portion of divine energy, after which the followers of each aspired, was to occupy the place of that mortal corruption which they hoped to expel by solitude and self-denial. The examples of Elijah,§ and others of the early prophets, continued down to the appearance of Christ to command peculiar veneration. Jesus himself spent forty days *in the wilderness*; and in later times the prophet of Mecca retired to the

‡ D'Anville.

§ The Carmelites derive their pedigree in regular succession from Elijah, and his statue, *as one of the order*, has been erected in the church of St. Peter.—See Gibbon, *note*, c. xxxvii.

tated by Hilarion* and Basil in Palestine and Pontus;† and the penances of Martin of

* “Influenced by the example of Antony, a Syrian youth, whose name was Hilarion, fixed his dreary abode on the sandy beach between the sea and a morass, about seven miles from Gaza. The austere penance in which he persisted forty-eight years, diffused a similar enthusiasm; and this holy man was followed by a train of two or three thousand anchorets whenever he visited the *innumerable monasteries of Palestine*.”—Gibbon.

† A.D. 360.

solitudes of Al Hafra, ere attempting the propagation of his new faith. The Esseni and Therapeuta, of the Lake Asphaltites, are, perhaps, our earliest instances of cenobitic societies; and though these are likewise to be traced on the shores of the Nile, Egypt cannot even by this instance claim the honour conferred on her by Gibbon, of setting the *first* example of monastic life.

The remarkable similarity between the remains of art in ancient Egypt and the idols of the early Eastern mythology, has been often adverted to; and in innumerable instances the religious doctrines of both were perfectly analogous. Their mutual belief in the corruption and decline of the human race, is attested by the sacred books of the one, and the colossal monuments of the other;‡ and the belief in the transmigration of souls seems evidently to have been imported into Egypt from the priests of India.§ Amongst the sacred

‡ The tenets of the Singese priests coincide in a peculiar manner in various other points with many of those of the Church of Rome.—See Murray, *Hist. Disc. in Asia*, iii. 249.

§ The Pales records of Buddhism trace the origin of the religion from the earliest era of the world down to one thou-

Tours* were outdone by the severities of Simeon Stylites,† on the summit of his column

* Martin of Tours, a soldier, a hermit, a bishop, and a saint, established the monasteries of Gaul, A. D. 370.—Gibbon.

† Amongst these heroes of the monastic life, the name and genius of Simeon Stylites have been immortalized by the singular invention of an aerial penance. At the age of thirteen, the young Syrian deserted the profession of a shepherd, and threw himself into an austere monastery. After a long and painful noviciate, in which Simeon was repeatedly saved from pious suicide, he established his residence on a

dogmas of the latter, is likewise the same holy reverence for retirement and self-mortification. "Neither the Budha nor any other founder of a new sect would have impressed his followers with an adequate idea of his holiness, without having become a hermit, and practised the habits of ascetic life."‡ Guadma himself became a recluse ere his final transfer to the heaven Toisite, and in the Pansiya Panas Jutaka, or sacred volume of Ceylon, containing the 550 incarnations or transmigrations of the Budha, the last and most important tale represents (him under the form of) Wessantara-rajah, as driven from his kingdom by his (earthly) father Sandamaha-rajah, and retiring as a *hermit* to the cave Wangageriyah, whence, having perfected his sacrifice and self-denial, he is removed to the fourth of the Dewa-Loka, or Buddhist heavens.

sand years before Christ, when the second period of its existence commenced, on the appearance of Sakia, or Xaca Sinha, whose creed prevailed to the coming of Guadma, five hundred and fifty years before Christ, when the religion was brought to the state of purity in which it exists at the present day.—See Upham's Hist. and Doctr. of Buddhism. ‡ Upham.

at Antioch. The practice encouraged by the emperors, quickly became popular with their subjects; and whilst whole provinces were taxed by the crown for the erection of convents and monasteries,* private individuals defrauded themselves and their families of even the necessaries of life, in order to bestow them on these sacred foundations.† Down to the latest hours of the Eastern empire, this enthusiasm continued unabated, and almost all the larger monasteries still existing in Greece, were erected by the pious munificence of the

mountain about thirty or forty miles to the east of Antioch. Within the space of a *mandra*, or circle of stones, to which he had attached himself by a ponderous chain, he ascended a column which was successively raised from the height of nine to that of sixty feet from the ground. In this last and lofty station the Syrian anchoret resisted the heat of thirty summers, and the cold of as many winters. Habit and exercise instructed him to maintain his dangerous situation without fear and giddiness, and successively to assume the different postures of devotion. He sometimes prayed in an erect attitude, with his arms outstretched, in the figure of a cross; but his most familiar practice was that of bending his meagre skeleton from the forehead to the feet; and a curious spectator, after numbering twelve hundred and forty-four repetitions, at length desisted from the endless account. The progress of an ulcer in his thigh might shorten, but it could not disturb his *celestial* life, and the patient hermit expired without descending from his column."—Gibbon.

* Rabbe, p. 92.

† Rizo, p. 44.

sovereigns of Constantinople.* The Turks, too, in pursuance of the example of the Saracens,† have ever entertained a profound veneration for those individuals who, tearing themselves away from the allurements of earth, devote their days to the service and adoration of Heaven. Nor is this feeling confined to their own dervishes alone, but reaches to the recluses of other religions,‡ and extends its

* Carrel, p. 110.

† Molla Hunkiar, one of the most renowned saints of Islamism, was the intimate friend of a Christian monk, whose remains were, by his last desire, interred beside his own. They repose side by side in the Tekie of Konia,§ the Scheich or abbot of which girds on the sword of the Sultan on his elevation to the Ottoman throne.

‡ Of the Dervishes, the *Bektachis* pay homage to Jesus Christ and the twelve Apostles, and the *Zerrins* respect the Virgin Mary.

“In 1818, when I was in the service of the Ottoman minister,” says Rizo, (p. 42, *note*,) “I was employed to translate into Turkish two letters, one addressed to the Sultan, and the other to his favourite minister, Halet Effendi, from the nuns of a convent situated in the Gulf of Genoa. They complained of the spoliation of their dwelling by the French Republicans, and entreated his thrice sacred Highness to present them with three Turkey carpets, one green, a second blue, and a third rose-colour, to cover the pavement of their chapel. In return, they promised the prayers of the sisterhood for the greatness, the prosperity,

§ Iconium.

charity even to women ; the nuns of the Christian convents being looked upon by the Moslems with peculiar respect and veneration. Owing to the prevalence of this sentiment, the immunities and privileges of the monks have hitherto been preserved, though not without some pecuniary sacrifices ;* nay, even the bells of the convents† have been, in numerous in-

and glory of the Grand Seignior. The orders were instantly complied with, and the three carpets were presented to the pious countrywomen of Roxalana." See also Rycault, p. 215.

* See Chandler, p. 171.—" La plupart de ces couvens dont la fondation était de beaucoup antérieure à la conquête, après avoir été long-temps en butte aux spoliations et aux insultes des Turcs, étaient parvenus, avec l'appui des patriarches, et en s'engageant à payer à ce dernier aussi bien qu'à la Porte des sommes considérables, à faire respecter leur asile."—Carrel, p. 110.

† " In a few places only of the Turkish dominions are the Greeks allowed the use of bells. The common mode of notifying the hour of prayer is by striking on a board. This custom is of ancient date ; it was observed in the Christian monasteries before the time of Mahomet II. who at first adopted it from the Christians of Syria and Arabia."—Beckmann's Hist. of Invent.

In the Morea I have observed a large piece of bent iron of considerable weight suspended from the branch of a tree, which was struck by a hammer, in order to announce the hour of devotion. This substitute, so nearly resembling a bell, may, however, have been introduced since the bursting out of the present revolution.—Chandler mentions something similar of the convents near Athens : see p. 170.

stances, permitted to be retained ;* and, in their excursions of pleasure, the Turks themselves will often pause to listen to the echo of their evening chimes, as their musical notes come floating over the sea from the isles of the Propontis.†

The monasteries of Greece, like those of Italy, are generally built in the most picturesque and commanding situations, combining security with grandeur, and constructed on such a model, as to be at once commodious to their inmates in peace, and formidable to their assailants in war.‡ The mansions of the

* “ C’est encore à cause de ce respect des Mahometans pour les monastères que dans la groupe des charmantes petites îles situées dans le Propontide, à deux lieues de Constantinople, et apellées *îles des Princes*, il existe encore aujourd’hui plusieurs couvens bâtis antérieurement à la domination des Turcs, et où l’on a la permission de sonner les cloches.

“ Les Ottomans, qui ne souffrent point ce signe éclatant d’une religion ennemie, visitent souvent ces îles dans leurs parties de plaisir, et entendent sonner les cloches des monastères sans en être offensés.”—Rizo, p. 42.

† The Princes Islands.

‡ Of all the Grecian monasteries the most celebrated were those of Meteora, in Thessaly; Megaspelion, in the north of the Morea, and the numerous convents erected upon Mount Athos, or the Holy Mountains, called Ayonouri by the Turks. The former, consisting of about ten religious houses, are situated on the summit of some gigantic cliffs in the vicinity of the Selebria, a branch of

monks, often castellated, fortified, and bristling with cannon, are usually surrounded with

the Peneus. "They are seen," says Dr. Holland,* "from a great distance in descending the valley, rising from a comparatively flat surface, about a mile distant from the river; a group of insulated masses, cones, and pillars of rock, of great height, and for the most part so perpendicular in their ascent that each one of their numerous fronts seems to the eye as a vast wall, formed rather by the art of man, than by the more varied and irregular workings of nature. The small town of Kalabaca is situated immediately below the loftiest of these singular pinnacles of rock, which seems absolutely to impend over the place and its inhabitants: the height of this point, the summit of which is an irregular cone, cannot be less than from four to five hundred feet: on the side of the town it rises apparently to two-thirds of this height, by a perpendicular plane of rock, so uniform in surface, that it seems as if artificially formed; on the opposite side, the base of the rock falls even with the perpendicular line, and there is the same singular uniformity of surface."

The Rev. Mr. Jones, a portion of whose manuscript Journal is inserted in Hughes' Travels, thus speaks of their interior arrangements. "On proceeding to the loftiest of these, named Barlaam, I found the monks employed in drawing up provisions and wood by means of a rope and pulley. On my requesting to ascend to their aerial habitation, a rope of greater thickness was let down with a net at the end of it. Placed in this I was drawn up through the air to an height of two hundred feet. Having been dragged in and disengaged from the net, it was let down a second time for my servant Nicolo; but I was obliged to wait a full quarter of an hour

* Travels, p. 231.

highly-cultivated gardens, and seated in the midst of the most luxuriant and productive

before he could be persuaded to enter: it was necessary to have him as an interpreter. The ascent each time was made in two minutes and a half, and by means of a windlass. The monks received me with great kindness, and showed me several of their numerous apartments. They have two churches or chapels, and a library containing between two hundred-and-fifty and three hundred volumes; amongst which are some of the best Greek classics, as Hesiod, Pindar, Herodotus, and an old edition of Homer, printed in 1534. I inquired for manuscripts, but saw nothing of consequence. The Hegumenos, or prior of this convent, had resided in it for seventy-two years, and recollected Jacob, the Swedish traveller, visiting the monastery. Before I departed I was invited to partake of a repast, consisting of kid's flesh and bread and wine.

"The circumference of the ground at the top of this rock may be about two hundred yards. The prospect is not extensive, being confined by the other rocks and their monasteries. Close to Barlaam is the great rock of Meteora, which gives its name to all the rest collectively. The poor caloyers complain sadly of the vizir's exactions, which they said were not a regulated sum, but depended upon his arbitrary will. After remaining in the convent about an hour, I descended, and pursued my journey from Kalabaka (where the valley of the Peneus opens into an immense plain at least sixty miles long and twenty broad) to Triccala, at which place I arrived when it was dark."

To this account may be appended that of Mr. Cockerell, who visited them in 1814. "In six hours we arrived at Kalabaka, the village of the Meteora, following the course of a river which we crossed at least thirty times. Twelve sheets would not contain all the wonders of Meteora, nor convey to

grounds;* and their inhabitants, devoting themselves to agriculture, diversify by labour

you an idea of the surprise and pleasure which I felt in beholding these curibus monasteries, planted, like the nests of eagles, upon the summits of high and pointed rocks. To the great terror of myself and Michaeli, we were put into a net, not unlike a cabbage-bag, and drawn up to the height of one hundred and twenty-five English feet, suspended in the air, with precipices on all sides, upon the good faith of a rope scarcely an inch and a half in diameter. The monasteries were once eighteen in number, but are now reduced to ten. These are named as follow: Meteora, Psetorera, Aghia Triada, (the highest,) Aghio Stephanos, Ronsari, Aghia Moni, Aghio Nicolo, Aghio Pneuma (or the Holy Ghost,) and Panaghia (or the Virgin). Even these are gone into considerable decay; and the wretched caloyers are so ignorant that they could give me no rational account at all respecting their foundation."—Hughes's Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania, vol. i. p. 504.

Ignorant and misinformed, the inhabitants of those terrific eyries seem to have no other care than to live and to pay from time to time the grinding taxes imposed upon them by the Pachas of Roumeli. During the reign of Ali Pacha, Meteora was one of his state prisons, and the monks were

* Rabbe, 95. Carrel, 111.—“ Ils possédaient de vastes jardins, de riches vignobles, des maisons de campagne délicieuses; quelques-uns avaient des maisons à l'image des manoirs féodaux crénelées, ceintes des fosses, garnies des tours, armées de petits canons, et conservaient des dépôts d'armes, dont les moines se servaient contre les bandes de Klephtes lorsque ceux-ci venaient faire le ravage sur leurs terres.”

the hours not consumed in study or devotion. Though their libraries were almost

obliged to support and be responsible for the appearance of those committed to their custody.*

Megaspelion, in the north of the Peloponnesus, is the largest monastery in Greece. The account of Mr. Dodwell is full and interesting.

"In two hours from Kalabryta we reached the monastery, but not before the gates were shut, and admission was accordingly refused. We were cold and hungry, and destitute of provisions; and though there are chambers on the outside of the convent, where the traveller may repose, yet we begged hard to be admitted within the walls. When we told them that we were Franks, they desired us to stand in the moonshine, that they might see our hats, while they examined our number and appearance from the windows. We accordingly took our station at the appointed spot; and, as I was the only Frank of the party, and the only one with a hat, they said, they thought it very strange that a single Frank should travel in such a country, and at such an hour, attended only by Turks. They consented, however, to unbar the doors, and let us in. A quarter of an hour elapsed before the door was opened, when we entered a long passage between a double line of monks, all of whom had, as I afterwards found, arms concealed under their ample robes; for such is the insecurity of their situation, and the lawless distraction of the country, that they are compelled to take every possible precaution to prevent surprise and spoliation. I was shown into a comfortable chamber, and a blazing fire of fir-wood was lighted for me by some young boys in the sacerdotal habit. Salique soon came in

* Depping, vol. i. p. 206.

the sole depositories of the remnants of learn-

to inform me that he had already tasted the wine, which was excellent, and that he had seen the horned pigs* deposit their arms, which they had under their cloaks when we were admitted.

"I rose at an early hour on the following morning, as I was anxious to examine the situation of the monastery, which during the moonlight of the preceding evening had a most extraordinary appearance; nor was the interest of the scene diminished by the glare of day. It is erected upon a steep and narrow ridge, and against the mouth of a large natural cavern. Indeed most of the interior of the edifice is within the cave itself, or projects but little beyond. It is a large white building, of a picturesque and irregular form, consisting of eight stories, and twenty-three windows in front. It faces the west. A magnificent precipice, of four or five hundred feet in height, rises from the cave, and overhangs the monastery in such a manner, that when the Arnauts, who ravaged great part of the Morea, found it impossible to take the monastery in front, on account of the narrow and defensible passes, they attempted to roll down upon it large masses of stone from the precipice above, but they all fell beyond the walls of the consecrated edifice. The monks, of course, were not backward in ascribing this circumstance to a miracle. The garden of the convent is in its front, and situated on a quick slope, supported by terrace walls, and approached by zig-zag ways. Some cypresses, which grow in the garden, add greatly to its picturesque effect. When I requested permission to inspect the church, the monks seemed more desirous of showing their cellar, which is, indeed,

* A term of contempt; meaning, in this instance, the monks.

ing which had survived the ruin of their

one of the finest in the world. It occupies the greater part of the ground-floor, and was filled with large casks, which contain wine of a better quality than that usually found in the Morea, and it is, moreover, always cool. The church is incrustured with ancient marbles, embellished with gilding, and sanctified with paintings of Panagias and saints. It is illuminated with silver lamps, but badly lighted from without.

"Megaspelia is the largest monastery in Greece, and owes its foundation, or completion, to the Greek Emperors, John Cantacuzene and Andronicus, and Constantine Palæologus. It supports about four hundred and fifty monks, most of whom are dispersed about the country, and engaged in superintending the metochia, and cultivating the land. Its currant plantations are considerable, and produce 80,000 pounds weight annually. It is a *Βασιλική μοναστήρια*, or royal monastery, and enjoys great privileges. The Hegoumenos, or abbot, is elected yearly; but the same individual is frequently re-elected, if his conduct has been approved. When they cease to hold that place, they are denominated *πρόηγούμενοι*, and are more respected than the other monks.

"The palladium of this monastery is an image of the Virgin, that is said to have been made by Saint Luke. This attracts the visits of pilgrims, and makes a great addition to the revenue of the pious establishment. The situation of Megaspelia is damp, and the monks are subject to the rheumatism.

"The country round the monastery is rich in combinations of picturesque grandeur and sublimity, woods of aged growth are seen upon the mountains, and the rocks are precipitously bold.

"The largest monastery in the Morea, after that of Megaspelia, is Taxiarchi, which is about an hour and a half

country, they were in general unaware of

from Vostitza, towards the mountains. It is also a *Βασιλική μοναστήρια*: and the monks inflame the devotion of the pilgrims by the sight of the sponge which was given to the thirsting Saviour, and of the *ακανθίνον στεφανόν*, or crown of thorns, which he wore."

Dodwell's *Tour through Greece*, vol. ii. p. 448—451.
also Pouqueville, vol. iv.

Of all, however, the most distinguished are the convents of Mount Athos, in the Chalcidic Chersonese. These, about twenty-three in number,* are clustered round the steep peninsula, and have consecrated to Heaven the cliffs which were once designed as the monument of Xerxes.† Of these, one monastery belongs to the Servians, one to the Bulgarians, a third to Russia, and a fourth to the Georgians;‡ the remainder are possessed and supported exclusively by Greeks, who, like all the other monks of the nation, are of the order of St. Basil.§ The antiquity of their foundations mounts to a very early period;|| and though no authentic documents now in existence, regarding their institution, bear an earlier date than that of Nicephoras Phocas,¶ their inhabitants still assert,

* M. Rabbe estimates the number of religious foundations at twenty-three before the late revolution, (p. 93.); M. Bory St. Vincent at twenty-four; and M. Malthe Brun, in his *Geography*, states them to consist of twenty-two convents, five hundred chapels, and twenty cells for the accommodation of hermits.—(Vol. vi. p. 165.)

† See papers of Dr. Sibthorpe. *Walpole's Memoirs of European Turkey*, vol. i. p. 65.

‡ Rizo, p. 43.

§ " — les moines Grecs, tous soumis à l'ordre de St. Basile," &c.—Depping, vol. i. p. 31.

|| Rizo, p. 43.

¶ A. D. 961.

the value, and unenlightened by the contents

that numbers of them can trace their origin to Constantine the Great, and the reign of Honorius and Arcadius.* Like those already mentioned, their external appearance is rather that of a fortress than the residence of the ministers of peace;† and each is situated in the midst of gardens and grounds possessed by the monks attached to it.‡ The number of inhabitants in the peninsula who, before the revolution, paid the karatch, amounted to upwards of three thousand; but including labourers, hermits, and workmen, the actual number of resident caloyers would perhaps amount

* Dr. Hunt's Papers. Walpole's Turkey, vol. i. p. 218.

† "Ces sont des bâtiments construits à la manière des anciennes forteresses; ils sont garnis de petits canons et renferment des dépôts d'armes, qui assureraient, en cas d'attaque, les moyens d'une défense vigoureuse, si les moines savaient s'en servir.—Rabbe, p. 93.

"The monastery of Botopaidi is a large irregular pile, standing on high ground, overlooking the sea, and having some lofty towers within it, as well for the purpose of watch-towers, as for a retreat in case of an attack from pirates.

• • • • • On reaching the gate, we found the approach much more like a fortress than the peaceful abode of monks. The lofty walls were flanked with towers, and many cannon appeared at the embrasures. The outer gate was doubly plated with iron; a long, dark, winding passage led from it, in which were two guns on carriages, and three more gates secured by strong bolts and bars."—Dr. Hunt.

‡ "Ces monastères (on Mount Athos) sont généralement entourés de jardins, de vignobles, de chapelles, et de maisons de campagne délicieuses, où une retraite assez indépendante était préparée aux moines ennuyés de la vie du couvent. A ce compte le lecteur va penser que les couvents eux-mêmes devaient être déserts; mais cet avantage, comme tous les biens

of their literary treasures. Misled by the idea

to six thousand.* Their oath on joining the order is solemn and simple; they renounce for ever the world and its cares, and swear from henceforward to consider themselves dead to all sublunary concerns; and so sincere are some in their professions, that they abjure the name of their parents, cease from all correspondence with their friends, and will even refuse to permit their memory to dwell so long upon their former life as to relate to a stranger the land of their birth, or the tale of their early history.† Devoted to meditation, to celibacy, to retirement, and poverty,‡ this isolated spot has continued for upwards of fifteen centuries § to be inhabited by successive generations of those whom fanaticism

de ce monde, n'était pas réservé aux pauvres. Pour habiter ces campagnes, il fallait que ces moines fussent assez riches pour les acheter; encore n'en jouissaient-ils que pendant leur vie, ces biens devant après leur mort retourner aux monastères."—Rabbe, p. 95.

* Such is the calculation of Dr. Hunt, (p. 219). M. Bory St. Vincent estimates them at twelve thousand, (habités par douze mille moines environ," *Resumé*, &c. p. 529.) and Malthé Brun (p. 165, vol. vi.) at four thousand.

† Dr. Hunt, p. 222.

‡ "Property was in general private in the greater number of the convents of Athos, but that of Xenophon was an exception. Its rules ordained that none of its members should possess even the semblance of property, or live in private. The caloyers, therefore, not only dined and slept in large apartments together, instead of having a separate cell, as in other convents, but even their dress and linen were supplied by the abbot, or the treasurer of the community."—See Dr. Hunt, p. 216.

§ "Cette montagne de sainte renommée fut *de tout temps* l'asile des Grecs portés à la vie contemplative," &c.—Rabbe, p. 96.

that they were devoted to a life of contempla-

or misfortune had alienated from the rest of their species :— to them might well be applied the expressions of Pliny in describing the Esseni who dwelt among the palm-trees by the Dead Sea shore,—“ a solitary and singular sect, whom the world neither allured nor cared for, and who, divested of passions and avarice, had abandoned society, in order to become the associates of nature. Thus rent from their fellow-beings, they existed for ages an eternal race, whose numbers were replenished by the crimes and the penitence of mankind, but amongst whom the wail of infancy or the voice of childhood were unknown.” *

Like the generality of their brethren, the monks of Athos were grossly ignorant, and though their monasteries were the chief depositories of the literary treasures of Grecian learning, they appeared totally unconscious of the value or contents of these sacred deposits.† In their code of discipline, one of the most prominent injunctions was that of abstinence: independent of one hundred and ninety-five regular fast days, and ninety-one moveable festivals, on which the members of the Greek church are forbidden the use of milk,

* “ Ab occidente litora (of the Lake Asphaltites) Esseni fugiunt, usque quā nocent: gens sola en in toto orbe præter cæteras mira, sine ulla fœmina, omni venere abdicata, sine pecunia, socia palmarum. In diem ex æquo convenarum turba renascitur, large frequentantibus, quos vita fessos ad mores eorum fortunæ fluctus agitāt. Ita per sæculorum millia (incredibile dictu) gens æterna est in qua nemo nascitur. Tam fecunda illis aliorum vitæ pœnitentia est.”— Plinii Histor. Nat. L. v. c. xv.

† Rizo, 44. Rabbe, 94.

“ The academy of Botopaidi was under the care of the celebrated Eugenius, who, being disgusted by the calumnies of the caloyers, was forced from the islands, and retired first

tion alone, they deemed all external stimulants

meat, fish, and even oil, the caloyers of the Holy Mountain were at all times restrained from the use of flesh, except in cases of extreme illness; and on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, oil, eggs, and fish, were habitually interdicted; bread, salad, olives, and vegetable soup, being on these meagre days their only substitute.* Nicephoras Gregoras, in his description of this pious retreat, lays peculiar emphasis on the banishment of women, and even the females of every animal, from Mount Athos,† a regulation which is still rigorously adhered to. "Neither cows, ewes, nor hens," says Dr. Hunt, "are permitted to be brought into the peninsula. The inhabitants, therefore, have no milk, butter, cheese, or eggs, except when these articles are imported from Thasos and Lemnos, or from Macedonia across the Isthmus. We saw milk sold at seven-pence an oke, when wine only cost two-pence. They use oxen for ploughing, and mules for riding. The superstitious or artful caloyers repeat gravely to every stranger who visits them, that no female animal could live three days on Mount Athos, although they see doves and other birds building their nests in the thickets,

to Constantinople, and afterwards to the court of Catherine, at St. Petersburg, who subsequently conferred on him the see of Chersonesus. He was author of a translation of the *Æneid* into Modern Greek."—Dr. Hunt, p. 200. Zalloni, *Essai sur les Fanariots*, p. 16.

* Dr. Hunt, p. 203.

† Καὶ ἀπλῶς πολυταχόθεν ἐκεῖ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς συγκροτοῦνται γνωρίσματα, πρὸς τε τῆς φύσεως, πρὸς τε τῆς τῶν οἰκούντων ἀσκήσεως· οὐ γυναῖκαν ὅλως ἐκεῖ ξυναυλία, καὶ ἀκόλαστον ὄμμα, καὶ χλιδῶσα κομμωτική, &c.—Nic. Greg. *Hist. Byzant.* l. xiv. c. 7. p. 449.

to meditation and thought as superfluous or swallows hatching their young under the sheds, and vermin multiplying in their dirty cells and on their persons.*

Hospitality to strangers is one of the duties imposed by their charter;† and the sums bestowed by the gratitude or piety of these, the bequests of distant friends, the gains of the travelling monks, the gifts of devotees, the produce of their lands, and other minor sources, comprise their chief means of support. In general, the soil of Mount Athos is unproductive of aught save vegetables, grapes, and fuel;‡ and the aid of their friends in Russia and elsewhere is requisite to enable the caloyers to make up the amount of their annual imposts to the Porte. Even with this assistance, the community was seldom free of debts and difficulties;§ and in some instances, as that of the convent of Simo Petra, the establishments have turned bankrupts, their goods being seized and sold, and the monks dispersed from their dwellings.||

To the Porte their tribute is exorbitant, in spite of a charter of immunity granted them by the Sultan, and said to be still in existence at Charyess, the capital of the peninsula. It is said

* P. 203, 204. Papers of Dr. Sibthorpe. Walpole's Turkey, vol. ii. p. 40. Rabbe, p. 94. Bory St. Vincent, p. 429.

† "By the rules of the institution, every convent on Mount Athos, and indeed throughout the whole Turkish empire, is ordered to show hospitality to strangers who present themselves at their gate, whether they be Greeks, heretics, or infidels; nor are they permitted to ask for payment from any visitor for any provisions they may give."—Dr. Hunt, p. 232. See also page 199, *ibid.*

‡ Dr. Hunt.

§ At the period of Dr. Hunt's visit their encumbrances amounted to one million piastres, or 80,000*l.* sterling.

|| *Ibid.* 214.

carnal, and trusting solely to the suggestions of reason and inspiration, they rejected with

that, in the latter days of the Greek empire, when the Christian dynasty was verging towards its close, and the rising power of the Ottomans was rapidly subjecting the richest provinces of the emperors, the monks of Athos sent a deputation from their body to the Sultan at Brusa, "to pay their homage to the rising sun." Calculating, with political acumen, on the approaching downfall of the Greeks, they presented Orchan with a purse of fourteen thousand sequins, and begged that, when he should be seated on the throne of Byzantium, he would remember the monks of the Holy Mountain. The Turk, of course, accepted their submission, promised full compliance, and gave them the charter I have mentioned, confirming to them and their successors the sole possession of Mount Athos. The successors of Orchan have, however, made them pay dearly for their treachery; and so far from being exempt *in toto* from taxation, their annual tribute is estimated at one hundred and thirteen thousand piastres, independent of occasional exactions, which frequently amount to one-fifth of that sum.

Trade is of course unknown at Athos, and the only merchandize of Charyess are the manuscript psalters written by the monks and still preferred by the devotees to printed books, pictures of saints, knit stockings, oils distilled from plants, and knives with ornamented handles, inscribed with sacred mottoes by the caloyers.* Their town is distinguished for nothing except being the residence of the Turkish Aga, who, as deputy of the Bostandji Bachi, is governor† of

* Dr. Hunt, p. 204, 205.

ὡδὲ ἐμπορίαι δημόσιοι, καὶ ἀγοραί, &c.—Nic. Gregor. lib. xiv. c. vii. vol. ii. p. 449. B.

† Rizo, 43. Dr. Sibthorpe, p. 38.

spiritual disdain the humbler assistance of human and earthly knowledge.* Still, it was in these institutions alone that the spark of

the mountain, and the only Turk permitted to reside upon it, even his wives being excluded by the pious timidity of the holy brotherhood. Under his surveillance, the affairs of the community are managed by a council of four deputies, chosen annually from the four classes into which the twenty convents are divided, and who reside, without pomp or ostentation, at the town of Charyess.† The office of the Aga is said to be lucrative, and the profits of his two years of privation and seclusion are generally sufficient to qualify him as an aspirant to the rank of the Bostandji Bachi, by whom he is appointed.

* Of the ignorance of the monks at the monastery of St. John in the island of Patmos, who may be taken as a fair specimen of the *genus*, Dr. Clarke gives the following picture:

“ We entered a small oblong chamber, having a vaulted stone roof, and found it to be nearly filled with books, of all sizes, in a most neglected state; some lying upon the floor a prey to the damp and to worms, others standing upon shelves, but without any kind of order. The books upon the shelves were all printed volumes; for these, being more modern, were regarded as the more valuable, and had a better station assigned them than the rest, many of which were considered only as so much rubbish. Some of the printed books were tolerably well-bound, and in good condition. The superior said these were his favourites; but when we took down one or two of them to examine their contents, we discovered that neither the superior nor his colleague were

† Dr. Hunt, p. 204, 219.

Grecian literature was kept alive; it was here that the candidates for prelatic honours were in-

*able to read.** They had a confused traditionary recollection of the names of some of them, but knew no more of their contents than the Grand Seigneur. We saw here the first edition of the *Anthologia*, in quarto, printed at Florence, in capital letters, A.D. MCCCXCIV. a beautiful copy. At the extremity of this chamber, which is opposite to the window, a considerable number of old volumes of parchment, some with covers and some without, were heaped upon the floor, in the utmost disorder; and there were evident proofs that these had been cast aside, and condemned to answer any purpose for which the parchment might be required. When we asked the superior what they were? he replied, turning up his nose with an expression of indifference and contempt, *Χειρόγραφα* !† It was, indeed, a moment in which a literary traveller might be supposed to doubt the evidence of his senses; for the whole of this condemned heap consisted entirely of Greek manuscripts, and some of them were of the highest antiquity."

"Every monastery hath its library of books, which are kept in a lofty tower, under the custody of one whom they call *Σκευόβηλας*, who is also their steward, receives their money, and renders an account of all their expenses: but

* Mons. De Choiseul-Gouffier (*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, tom. i. p. 103,) found only three monks in Patmos who knew how to read. Sonnini speaks of their extraordinary ignorance, but he is mistaken when he affirms that they have no library. "There is no library," says he, "in the convent; and of what utility would it be among people who for the most part cannot read?"—See Sonnini's *Travels in Greece*, &c. c. xxxvi. p. 437. Lond. 1801.

† Manuscripts. Clarke's *Travels*, vol. vi. pp. 40-43.

structed in theology and the study of their ancient language; and to them was their country indebted for the few brighter names, which, though obscure in comparison with the brilliant spirits of Europe, still shine with the humbler lustre of the glow-worm on the dark pages of her early servitude.

It was from the order of these devotees, that the individuals destined for the higher ecclesiastical honours were selected. From the remotest ages of the Church, celibacy has been considered closely allied to sanctity; and from the period when the monastic life was first introduced, the bishops and officers of the Christian Church were chosen from the ranks of these venerated ascetics.* Marriage, whilst it was permitted by the Greeks to the parochial clergy,† was for-

we must not imagine that these libraries are conserved in that order as ours are in the parts of Christendom; that they are ranked and compiled in method, on shelves, with labels of the contents; or that they are brushed and kept clean, like the libraries of our colleges: but they are piled one on the other, without order or method, covered with dust, and exposed to the worm."—Ricault's *State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 260. Lond. 1679.

* Gibbon, c. xxxvii. Ibid. c. xx. sec. ii.

† Even this concession was granted with some limitations; and though marriage was permitted *once*, the church retained all its ancient antipathy to the practice of second nuptials, which, in the early eras of Christianity, was suffi-

bidden to those who aspired to episcopal distinction; and it was essential to a candidate for the higher dignities of the community, that he should be an *ἱερός μόναχος*, or celibitary.* To this restriction may naturally be referred the origin of that indifference, if not aversion, with which the Greek prelates were accustomed to look upon the parochial clergy, and the aversion and suspicion with which they were in turn regarded by the people. As a privileged order, their pride and their ambition were kept in perpetual vigour; whilst the wants, the wishes, and affections of their flocks were disregarded or outraged through the influence of that selfishness which must always, in some degree, be engendered by celibacy. Marriage, whether in a sacred or a secular sphere, is ever productive of those social relations, and those kindlier feelings, which, spreading abroad like the tendrils of the vine, serve to bind together with a firm, but delicate clasp, the sympathies and the affections of life; whilst celibacy, at once disdaining and withholding the obligations of mutual support, tends to destroy the cement which unites society, and render its component

cient to exclude its perpetrators from the honours, and even alms of the Church.—See Williams's Dict. all Relig. art. Gr. Ch. Gibbon, c. xv. &c.

* Dr. Hunt's papers. Walpole's Turkey, vol. i. p. 222.

individuals, unsympathizing, unsocial, and self-dependent. Thus, whilst the popular priesthood existed by an interchange of kindnesses with the people, of whom they felt themselves a constituent part, and entered with enthusiasm into all their miseries and all their rejoicings; the efforts of the *cœnobites* and ascetics, standing as it were aloof from the rest of the nation, were directed solely to the advancement of their power, and the aggrandizement of their individual body.

Poverty was, in general, the inmate of their dwellings; but, in some instances, they had succeeded in amassing considerable wealth, and at the period of the late revolution, a few of the convents were in possession of extensive and valuable lands in Thessaly, Macedonia, and other provinces.* In addition to this, the contributions of the wealthy Greeks, both those at home and others who had settled in distant quarters of Europe, served to maintain their pious establishments, and enabled them to meet the frequent exactions of the Sultan and his deputies. Another source of

* "Après maintes vicissitudes de spoliation et de réintégration auxquelles les avait exposés la capricieuse avidité des Sultans ou des Pachas, ces couvens possédaient encore à l'époque où l'insurrection éclata, des terres en Macédoine en Thessalie, et dans d'autres contrées." — Rabbe, 94.

wealth arose from their stores of relics of saints, and remnants of the veritable and holy cross;* and the profits arising from the exhibition of these were frequently so great as to exceed even the tribute demanded by the Turks.† Attached to almost every monastery of importance, there were branch establishments in the principal towns of Thessaly, Bosnia, Servia, Macedonia, and Bulgaria,‡ termed *Metochia*, and occupied by brothers of the order, who were delegated to preach, to raise contributions, exhibit relics, and forward periodically to the parent establishment the fruits arising from their labours. To these institutions may chiefly be traced the superstitious degradation of the

* The stock of holy timber possessed by these miracle-merchants was "extensive and well assorted." It has been remarked, that as many fragments of the *true* cross are exhibited in Europe as would serve to build a ship of the line. The monastery of Xeropotamos could contribute largely to her construction, as it possesses two logs, the largest in existence, one of them being a yard and a quarter long, and still retaining the cavity made by one of the nails!

† "Exploitant la dévotion des Grecs à certaines reliques, et surtout au bois de la vraie croix, dont tous se déclaraient possesseurs, ils avaient rapidement élevés leurs revenus fort au dessus de tributs qui étaient la condition de leur existence." —Carrel, p. 111.

‡ "Il y avait de ces délégués à Larisse, à Triccala, à Jannina, Serès, Salonika, et dans beaucoup des villes moins considérables." —Ibid. 111.

people, and the gross corruption of the priesthood. Credulity on the one hand, and crafty chicanery on the other, were ready means of recruiting the coffers of the hierarchy; and whilst the one was fostered under the undefined term of *faith*, the other was countenanced or overlooked by the suggestions of avarice.

In the remoter and more retired districts, their pious efforts were, however, baffled by the vigilance of the local clergy. It was seldom that in their mendicant expeditions their relics could prove a source of profit in the recesses of Pelion and Pindus, of Olympus or Agrafa, where their metochia were unestablished, and where the hardy natives cared but little for their saintly rubbish. Prepared for every vicissitude, however, the subtle caloyers were not to be repulsed, even by infidelity or aversion: the bones which passed in the valley for those of St. Basil and St. Nicolas, assumed in the highlands the more popular names of Scanderbeg, or Boukvallos; and the devotion withheld by the mountain-warrior from the remains of the glorified Saint, was promptly, and *profitably*, bestowed on what he supposed to be the dust of his warlike ancestors.* Nor were the proceeds of this system of holy deception appropriated in all cases to the purposes for which the

* Carrel, p. 113.

contributions were levied ; and the Egoumeni, or abbots, of the several convents, had often to complain, that they were defrauded, by the villainy of their erratic agents, of the sums amassed by authorized imposition and sacerdotal fraud.*

Thus prepared for every villainy, those wandering miscreants became the promoters of vice, and the fosterers of depravity: the murderer paused above his victim only to ascertain whether he was in possession of the sum requisite to purchase the forgiveness of the Church ; no atrocity was too heinous to be beyond the pale of absolution ; and the wretch who assumed the sacred garb of piety, so far from inculcating the practice of virtue, sought only to render religion the protectress of crime, and the guardian of depravity.†

* “On taking leave of Father Gerasimos, of Chiliantari, we congratulated him on the peace and tranquillity which his little religious commonwealth enjoyed in the midst of the wars and revolutions of Europe ; he replied, that, on the contrary, they were in a state of perpetual conflict with their most powerful enemies, the Devil, their own lusts, and the travelling caloyers, who embezzled the alms by which the convent should be supported.”—Walpole’s *Turkey*, vol. i. p. 223.

† De la Guilletiere attempts, by an unsupported assertion, to justify the character of the Monks, and maintains them to be in the highest degree virtuous and exemplary. With such a mass of evidence against him, however, his declaration comes with but little weight.—See *Athènes Anc. et Nouv.* p. 284.

To the popular clergy they maintained the most virulent and avowed hostility, since their professions and objects were thoroughly distinct, and the visitations of the one were a direct encroachment on the province and privileges of the other. It frequently occurred, likewise, that the caloyers contrived totally to supersede their rivals; and as the latter could not pretend to cope with them in their contributions to the bishops, they were obliged to resign to them their churches, and abandon their pastoral charge to the more wealthy and influential intruders. These selfish competitions were sometimes productive of the most disgraceful scenes, and in many instances the monks, encouraged by the authority of the bishops, and supported by the soldiery of the Turks, have taken forcible possession of the chapels, in spite of the wishes of the people.*

A perpetual struggle was thus maintained between the sincere and faithful ministers of religion, and the hosts of travelling hypocrites, who leagued with the degraded and vicious portion of the priesthood against their more virtuous brethren. The characters of the two parties admitted of no medium; the former were the friends, the comforters, and supporters of their flocks; the latter were a race, whose

* Pouqueville.

reputation was infamy, whose profession was deceit, whose motive was avarice, and whose contact was pollution. In the hands of the one, the expiring spark of Christianity was cherished as a light in the darkness of adversity, as a glowing flame in the coldness of misery and despair; by the others, it was blown into a brand of anarchy, or served, like the fire of the incendiary, to delude the victim, whilst it concealed, or facilitated the progress of the spoiler.

Another institution, which formed one of the peculiar features of the Greek Church, was that of the Laic, or Secular Clergy, as they have been antithetically denominated. This *cortège*, who surrounded the throne of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, derive their origin from the successors of Constantine, at the period when the Byzantine court were striving to shroud, under a display of gorgeous splendour, the declining energies of the sinking state.* In imitation of the crowd of ennobled attendants who composed the suite of the monarch, the haughty prelate created in his palace a host of dignitaries, to each of whom, on receiving consecration by tonsure and the imposition of

* For an account of the Secular Clergy, see Rizo, p. 44. Gibbon, c. liii.

hands, was assigned an office of honour, with a corresponding and sonorous title.

The order was divided into two classes, denominated *Pendas*, the first including the chief officers of the Patriarchal court, with the grand ecclesiarch and orator, and the second those of the household, the immediate employés and secretaries of the prelate,* and a number of subalterns, who bore the name of *clerks*. The duties of this dignified body were chiefly confined to the civil affairs of the Greeks, though they likewise comprehended those relative to the temporal concerns of the Church; and their revenues arose from contributions paid by certain convents, villages, and islands, aided by an annual salary from the ecclesiastical treasury. Of its influence on the literature of Greece I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere.

From this sketch of the power and immunities of the Greek Christians, under the dominion of the Ottomans, the reader will readily

* "La première était composée du *Grand Logothète*, ou *Archi-chancelier* du trône Patriarchal, du *Scévophylax*, ou *Garde-meubles*, du *Chartophylax*, ou *archiviste*, du *Grand Ecclésiarque*, et du *Grand Orateur*. Dans la seconde étaient rangés le *grand Econome*, le *Protonotaire*, le *Référéndaire*, le *Primicire*, l'*Archichantre*, et le *Premier Secrétaire*."—Rizo, p. 45. Petit de la Croix, cxxxvii.

perceive that the advantages enjoyed by the former were of a very doubtful and problematical nature. It requires but little reflection, or demonstration, to conclude, that a people, whose leading trait was a fanatical devotion to their own religion, however they might be forced to *tolerate* that of others, would concede but few important privileges which were not suggested by immediate expediency, or a prospect of future political advantage. In fact, the evident object of Mahomet II. was to corrupt and enchain the hierarchy, by the investiture of power, and the bestowal of wealth, and thus to secure an indirect influence over the people through the subserviency of their leaders. Nor did the result of the measure disappoint the expectations of those who devised it. The Synod, who appointed the chiefs of the Church, became almost immediately the creatures of the divan; and the Patriarch, who was chosen by them, even if averse to their proceedings, could not act without their concurrence.* By this means the whole body of the Prelates were indirectly, more or less, under the influence of

* "Le Patriarche ne doit décider arbitrairement aucune affaire générale, soit civile soit ecclésiastique, ni même nommer quelque évêque à une siège vacante, sans avoir préalablement obtenu le consentement du Synode."—Rizo, p. 31.

the Porte, since they could not possibly obtain their nomination without the interest of the Synod and the approval of the *Piscopos Calémi*; a court appointed by the Turks to regulate the Berat, and receive the *exequatur* paid by every dignitary on the occasion of his installation. Still, with all its corruption, the constitution of their Church was more pure than that of the Romans, and retaining some portion of their republican habits, they rejected an absolute despotism even in their ecclesiastical arrangements. Their principles of belief were regulated not by the fiat of an infallible autocrat, but by the unanimous conviction of an assembled council; and they treated with haughty disdain the pretensions of one who, elected, like themselves, the metropolitan of a province, endeavoured to usurp the spiritual domination of the world.

As to the Patriarch, though regarded by the nation as the representative of their ancient sovereigns, he possessed the pomp without the powers of aristocratic and feudal authority. The necessity of contributing to the support of his pontifical splendour, was to the Greeks the most ordinary memento of his dominion; and whilst his deposition remained in the hands of the Ottomans, his enthusiasm and temporary influence were much more likely to be em-

ployed in pursuit of his own advantage, than exerted in favour of his countrymen. For the bishops, in like manner, the people had but little affection or regard. The very circumstances of the simony and corruption attendant on their appointment,* argued a want of purity in the body at large; and whilst their installation was characterized by sycophancy to those in power, the tenor of their administration was generally marked by exactions as regarded their flocks, and by avarice in the sale of their inferior ecclesiastical appointments.†

Influenced, however, by that awe which attaches to the junction of spiritual exaltation with temporal power, the Greeks, although divested of all affection for their prelates, were accustomed to regard them with a veneration mingled with fear. Even whilst they murmured against their mercenary impositions and subserviency to their tyrants, they could not suppress an emotion of respect for those who combined in their own character the united offices of a civil magistrate, a dignified ecclesi-

* Carrel, p. 106. Rabbe, p. 87.

† To this, as to all general assertions, there were many exceptions; and in the present revolution, the conduct of numbers of Greek prelates evinced a patriotism and a disinterestedness widely different from the general character of their order.

astic, and a mediator between the subjects and his despots.

Nor were the services which the prerogatives of their office enabled the bishops to afford to the Greeks in any degree proportionate to the cost at which their dignity was supported by the nation ; and on the whole, their pomp and semblance of authority must be considered rather as a pageant to gratify the pride of the people, than an institution from whence they were to derive any real and solid advantages. In numerous districts, the inhabitants had become so conscious of this, and at the same time so averse to the presence of the bishops, that they had obtained from the Porte permission to emancipate themselves thoroughly from their trammels, and to be governed by Exarchs chosen by themselves from the ranks of the mountain pastors. The prelates nominated at Constantinople appeared among them only on those occasions when, according to the rites of the Church, the officiation of a bishop was indispensable, and the dignitary of the adjoining pachalic was in consequence invited to attend. Nor did the *Exarchs*, who thus represented the metropolitan, receive any salary for the performance of their duty, or assume any higher rank than that of simple priests.*

* Carrel, p. 109, 118.

The entire body of the unmarried clergy from the humblest cœnobite to the enthroned chief of their religion, may thus be looked upon as one connected and classified system of tyranny; each individual existing by the spoils of those immediately beneath him, and all supported by the hard-wrung contributions of the Greeks. They can only be regarded as an insulated weight, an incubus imposed upon the mass of the people, with whom they had no mutual sympathies, and from the midst of whom they might have been removed, without rendering a single tie, or inflicting an essential injury. The sole benefit for which they can claim the gratitude of the nation, was that of preserving unextinguished the dying spark of Grecian literature, and being the vehicle by means of which the language of their fathers has been handed down to the unfortunate Greeks.* If in the struggle for supremacy between the pontiffs of Rome and Constantinople, the former had succeeded in gaining an early ascendancy, the consequences which must have ensued to the Greeks are obvious; the language, the manners, and the national habits of the triumphing rival, would have been adopted and imitated by the followers of his unsuccessful op-

* Gibbon, c. liii. Bory St. Vincent, p. 350. Walpole, vol. 1. p. 221.

ponent, and the remnants of Grecian genius, which served in the ninth and tenth centuries to excite a taste for learning at Constantinople, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth to introduce the study and cultivation of the Athenian literature into Europe, would have been neglected and forgotten.

Even whilst we concede to them, however, the merit of this service, important as it is, we cannot avoid reprobating most strenuously the determined and selfish hostility of their order to those who have been the more efficient medium of transmitting to posterity a legacy more valuable and more estimable still, *the faith of Christ*. I refer, of course, to the Pappas. The corruption and superstition with which religion, even in their hands, became encumbered, is a matter which can excite but little surprise, when we reflect on the long series of political and mental degradations which the Greeks had endured, and which could not fail to produce the utter subjection of both intellectual vigour and personal energy. Still, debased as were the principles and practice of their Church, sunk as virtue was into a mere matter of ceremony and form, till "prayers had become morality and kneeling religion,"* their communion was a barrier which served to prevent the amalga-

* Junius, Letter xv.

tion of the Turks and their tributaries, and a *point d'appui* around which were assembled all the prejudices and recollections of the Greeks.

As their one solitary source of national pride, and the sole medium of relaxation or clemency in the vigour of their subjection, they clung with fond tenacity to the sacred institutions of their fathers; and wherever apostacy had occurred, as unfortunately it sometimes did, it served to show the weak tenure of that religion, whose precepts are based on expediency and not on conviction, and speak merely to the senses without engaging the mind. Such instances, however, so far from being common, were regarded with detestation by even the most abandoned; and the renegade, on his investiture with the turban, surrendered not merely his belief, but his home, his associates, his nation, and his name.*

To the Greeks, in a word, under the sway of the Ottomans, their Church was the direct agent of few positive advantages, and the medium of merely nominal or unimportant privileges. It stood, nevertheless, as a bond of union in the hour of difficulty; and as the medium, frail as it has proved, of preserving

* Babin, p. 56. De la Guilletiere, p. 287. Pouqueville, c. xii.

Christianity, it must ever be revered as the casket which inclosed a talisman, whose virtues were calculated to enlighten the darkness of a nation's misery, and which, displayed in the beams of her rising independence, has served to rally round her the sympathies and the affections of Europe.

CHAPTER XI.

The Armatoli and Klephts.

AMONGST those institutions which, after the fall of Constantinople, had a direct tendency to the preservation of the Greeks as a distinct people, the most important were the Armatoli, or national militia, who were charged with the maintenance of public order, and the repression of brigandage in the mountains of Northern Greece;* and that of the Phanariots at the capital, who acted as the chief diplomatic agents of the Turks in their transactions with European Powers, and became, in latter days, the Princes or Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia.

The original establishment of the former is involved in considerable obscurity, but the most

* The institution of Armatolics never extended to the Morea.—Carrel, p. 124; Fauriel, *Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne*.—Discours Préliminaire, p. xlv.

probable authorities concur in referring it to a period subsequent to the conquest of Greece by the Ottomans.* Whilst the earlier Sultans were occupied in the consolidation of their conquests, and the reduction of remote and isolated points, the turbulent and restive spirit of the mountaineers of Olympus, Pelion, Pindus, and

* Pouqueville, after a learned dissertation on all the robbers of Greece, from Autolychnus, the son of Mercury, to those who were persecuted by the Varangi in the thirteenth century,† concludes by attributing the institution of *Armatoliki* to the age of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; Rizo, with more probability, deduces its foundation from the example of stern resistance to oppression displayed by Scanderbeg and his associates; (p. 48.) and M. Fauriel, whose details on this head are ample and interesting, asserts without hesitation, his conviction of their origin being subsequent to the Turkish invasion. “*Il est certain qu’elles sont postérieures à la conquête de la Grèce par les Turcs, et qu’avant cette conquête l’on cherchait en vain parmi les Grecs quelque trace d’une pareille institution.*”—(Fauriel, p. xlv. — Carrel, p. 88, &c. &c.)

† “*Les Seigneurs Français qui envahirent la Grèce après la prise de Byzance ne firent qu’augmenter le nombre des Klephtes, auxquelles ils durent opposer des compagnies de Varangues.*”—Pouqueville, *Voy. de la Grèce*, l. xi. c. iv.

From this term is derived the modern epithet of *Franks*, bestowed by the Greeks on their European neighbours in general, though originally it seems to have been chiefly confined to the English and Danes.—See Gibbon, c. lv.

Agrafa, was a source of perpetual annoyance to the inhabitants of those districts which had submitted to their arms, and to the Turkish troops who were quartered amongst them. Aided by their rocky fastnesses, and supported by the succours of the Venetians, who still held possession of the maritime ports in their vicinity,* their aggressions soon rendered them formidable to the Sultans, who were long unable to withdraw their attention from foreign conquest to domestic conciliation.† In this predicament, concession was the sole alternative; the Turks consented to treat with them on terms of leniency, and the refractory warriors were permitted, on the payment of a trifling tribute,‡ to retain their arms, to form themselves into a military community, to occupy their native districts, and to be governed by their own laws and regulations.§ Those, however, who dwelt in the savage and almost inaccessible gorges of the mountains, proudly refused all compromise or treaty with their tyrants; they retired to their secluded haunts and Klephtochoria, and disdaining all contact with the Moslems or their minions, asserted that haughty independence which to

* Rizo, p. 49. Pouqueville, iv. p. 235. † Rizo, p. 51.

‡ Carrel, p. 94, 96. Rabbe, p. 103.

§ Fauriel, p. xlviii. Rizo, p. 240.

the present hour they have fearlessly and successfully maintained.

The Κλέφται ήμεροι, or those who had submitted,* were authorized to organize for mutual protection a corps of regular militia, under the title of *Armatoli*. This body, which strongly resembled the *Independent companies* established for a similar purpose in the Highlands of Scotland, was composed of, paid, and commanded exclusively by Greeks,† but submitted to the authority of the Pachas of the several districts.

The institution thus founded amidst the hills of Agrafa, soon spread itself over the entire extent of Greece, and existed in every district from the Vardar to the Hexamilion; divided into as many companies, independent of each other, as there were separate cantons in the provinces in which it prevailed.‡ The

* This term and that of προσκυνητοὶ served to distinguish them from their resistant compatriots, who were denominated the wild Klephts, or Κλέφται άγριοι.—See Fauriel, p. iii.

† Rabbe, p. 105; Carrel, p. 89. “Cette milice, soldée aux frais de la population Grecque, était tout entière et de droit composée de Grecs: nul sujet Turk ou Musulman du Grand Seigneur n'en pouvait faire partie.”—Fauriel, p. xlv.

‡ Fauriel, p. xlv. “Le Mont Agrafa, ce boulevard naturel de l'Epire, fut le première pays qui obtint par capitulation la prérogative d'avoir un capitaine avec un nombre suffisant

concessions granted through the intimidation, were soon confirmed by the policy of the Turks; and the Armatolis of the Greeks became in their hands an influential check on the ambition of the turbulent Timariots, who had been quartered by Amurath and Mahomet in Epirus and Albania. Nor were they less useful in protecting the bands of agricultural or commercial colonists who had settled in the vast plains which are watered by the Peneus, and whom, without their aid, the neighbouring Pachas found themselves unable to guard from the brigands of Olympus.*

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des soldats pour le maintien du bon ordre, pour la sûreté des villes et des villages situés au pied et sur les flancs de cette montagne escarpée. * * L'exemple du Mont Agrapha fut successivement suivi par toutes les provinces de la Grèce continentale, depuis l'Albanie jusqu'à la Macedoine Trans-Axienne, le Peloponèse, et l'Eubœe."—Rizo, p. 49.

In consequence of the constant alternations in the number and importance of the political divisions of Greece, (see p. 282,) and the connection of the Armatolis with these, as well as from other internal causes, the corps of the latter were liable to frequent vicissitudes and variations, both in extent and administration. "Le nombre des cantons d'Armatoles," says Fauriel, p. xliv, "a varié avec le temps et selon les circonstances. Immédiatement avant la Revolution, l'on comptait jusqu'à dix sept, dont dix en Thessalie ou en Livadie; quatre en Etolie, en Acarnanie ou en Epire; et les trois autres dans la Macedoine Cis-Axienne."

* Rizo, p. 53; Carrel, p. 88.

The chief military command was wielded by a leader with the title of Capetan, whose jurisdiction was denominated an Armatolic, and whose residence was usually in the principal village of his canton.* The honour was hereditary, and descended, with the sabre of his ancestors, to the eldest son of the chieftain,† who, (if attached to the regular militia,) obtained a diploma, or boyourdi, from his pacha.‡ The members of the corps, who in point of number were unrestricted, were known by the name of Pallikaris;§ and one

* Fauriel, xlv.; Carrel, 91. He was sometimes denominated *Protatos*, according to Pouqueville, c. iv. lib. xi. The term *Καπετανός* was peculiar to Acroceraunia; by the Suliots they were denominated *Polemarchs*; *Κεφαλάρης* by the inhabitants of Pindus; and *Kevetani*, or Chieftains, by the Peloponnesians.

† Fauriel, xlv. The principal hereditary houses were those of Basteki, on Mount Pelion, Boukavallos, in Agrafa, and Stornaris, by the Achelous. Blachavas was the name of the Capetans of Cassia, and Zachilas of Alassona. The family of Lazos was the most distinguished on Olympus, and that of Thasos in Thessaly and Macedonia.—See Carrel, p. 99, n.

‡ In districts governed by a Moussellim, or a delegate of the Pacha, the Armatolis were in like manner submitted to his orders.

§ For the derivation of this term, which may be rendered *brave*, see a note in the fourth volume of Pouqueville's Travels, p. 485.

who acted as secretary, or lieutenant, to the Captain, was denominated his Proto-pallikari. His costume was splendid in the extreme; and in addition to the usual arms of his clan, he bore in his girdle a silver inkstand to designate his literary as well as warlike occupations. Inured to hardship and privation, and schooled in temperance* and hardy toils, the iron frame of each sturdy soldier was a fitting receptacle for the bold, unbending spirit which it enshrined. His valour, his endurance, and his virtues, raised him to a par with his haughtiest leader, who had too much veneration for the merits of his followers, to abuse by tyranny that command to which they bowed through duty. The fruits and the fatigues of victory were alike common to the chieftain and his clan; and the only distinction sought by the former was that which was derivable from superior prowess, or unrivalled intrepidity.

Such was the condition of the *submitted*, or, as they were denominated by their countrymen, *αποσχυμφοί* Klephts; that of their companions in the mountains differed in many essential particulars. So far from yielding to the authority

* " En général ils se distinguaient par leur sobriété. Un Pallikare ivrogne était regardé comme indigne de son caractère."—Rizo, p. 245.

of the local governments, the latter disclaimed *in toto* all dependency on beys or pachas,* and asserted in its fullest force the charter which conferred on them the power of governing themselves, and of treating directly with the Porte on all subjects connected with their rights and privileges.

Of their numerous cantons, the most considerable maintained an insulated independence, whilst those of less importance united in confederacies for mutual protection, and all adopted the same form of republican administration. Their elders, or demogerontes, elected annually from the body of the people, were intrusted with the internal police, the administration of justice, and the applotment of the tribute in their several districts; and to them the Captains of each Klephtochori were amen-

* Some of those establishments of the independent Armatoli, whose position or military resources were weak, were obliged to place themselves for security under the patronage of some pacha in the lowlands. But as the choice of their protector lay with themselves, they generally selected one at so great a distance from their Klephtochori, as to leave him no opportunity of personal interference in their concerns, whilst they reaped all the advantages of his official influence. Thus Mezzovo was originally under the care of the Cadi of Lepanto, whose residence was seven days' journey from that of his clients.—See Carrel, p. 101.

able for the security of the district committed to their charge. The limits of their establishments were accurately defined, and jealously guarded against any encroachments of the Turks, and one officer alone resided amongst them as agent to the Porte, in order to facilitate their negotiations with the Ottoman authorities. Of their population, a proportion were agriculturists; and these, for the security of their lands, were accustomed to take into their pay those bands of the submitted Armatoli, who, flying from the oppression of the Moslems in the valleys, betook themselves for freedom and safety to the retreats of the mountains.*

In the enjoyment of this comparative liberty the highlanders of Northern Greece continued from the period of their original organization up to the destruction of the Venetian dynasty, in the commencement of the eighteenth cen-

* "Le nom des villages des Klephtes atteste encore aujourd'hui la glorieuse résistance des cantons qui transigèrent ainsi avec les conquérans. De ce nombre furent dans le mont Pelion, Macriniza, Saïadès, Portaria, Graykos, Argalisti, Mourizi, Anilli, Zagora, Mezalès; dans les monts Agrapha, Rentila, Patriloa, Fournà, Ambelakia; Allassona dans la vallée de Tempé; Xeloparicos aux sources de l'Acheloüs; dans l'Olympe, Milliès, la plus importante des stations Klephtiques; sur le Pinde proprement dite, Mezzovo; et dans les branches Thessaliques de la même chaîne, Coutzana, Dramissi, Kerachia."—Carrel, p. 93.

ture. Previously to this event, numbers of them had, it is true, occasionally, either from inclination or necessity, cast off all connexion with the Pachas, and betaken themselves to a life of rapine and lawless freedom in the hills;* but it was only then that the Porte, imagining the existence of the entire body no longer essential to the interests of the Ottomans, sought by every means to disunite and destroy them. From that epoch to the present, their annals are merely a chronicle of their wars with the emissaries and delegates of the Sultan; and from the oppression to which they were subsequently exposed, arose that body of restive warriors, the *Klephts*, whose exploits and prowess form the most prominent theme in the history and lyrics of Modern Greece.

One of the most galling measures for their subversion, was the establishment of certain offices, directly interfering with the functions and privileges of the Armatoli; the most pro-

* “ Un Capitaine d'Armatolike était-il inquieté à son poste, avait-il vent de quelque trahison ourdie contre lui par un Pacha, ou par le Dervendgi Bachi, il gagnait aussitôt les montagnes les plus voisines avec ses Pallikares qui l'y suivaient immédiatement ou allaient l'y joindre, et la compagnie d'Armatoles, chargée de la police d'un canton, se trouvait en un instant transformée en une bande de Klephtes en guerre ouverte contre l'autorité Turque.”—Fauriel, lii.

minent of which was the institution of the Dervendgi Bachi,* who with a band of followers chosen by himself, and governed by Dervenagas of his own election, had charge of the roads throughout the several pachalics.† Where hostility was premeditated, occasions of quarrel were easily discovered, and those disagreements which at first arose from accident or local injustice, soon ripened into a state of permanent and universal warfare between these representatives of the two nations. In this state of affairs, the followers of the Prophet were, of course, the party favoured by power; and an alteration introduced into the system of government, after the expulsion of the Venetians, was designed to give them a decided and overwhelming superiority. Up to the year 1740, it had been the policy of the Divan to avoid nominating to any of the vacant pachalics, those chiefs of the Albanians who, having embraced Mahometanism, had long maintained an avowed aversion to the Greeks. From that

* See p. 311.

† Fauriel, p. xlix. Pouqueville, vol. iv. p. 236. The office was equivalent to that of *Κλεισουργάρχης* under the Byzantine empire, (Leake's Outline, &c. p. 31.) Its revival by the Turks took place about the beginning of the seventeenth century; "cet événement arriva au commencement du dix-septième siècle." (Pouqueville, vol. iv, p. 237.)

period, however, up to 1784, the Pachalic of Epirus, combined with the office of Dervendgi Bachi, was successively conferred on Albanians, whose attention was energetically directed towards the overthrow and disorganization of the native Armatoli. To these succeeded the celebrated Ali Pacha, the rapid rise of whose fortunes may be dated from his appointment to the charge of the Dervens.* His efforts to destroy the independence of the mountaineers were more successful than those of his predecessors, and whilst his policy or power enabled him, after a long series of hostilities, to attach to his cause those of the Armatoli who remained in subjection to the Porte, his oppression and cruelties tended to rouse the greater portion to rebellion, and more densely to people the fastnesses and gorges of the hills with a race, who, flying from persecution, bore to their native mountains the sacred ark of freedom, and continued with undaunted bravery to defend it as the sole remaining treasure of their race.†

Here those who had fled during his reign and that of his predecessors were accustomed

* See Leake's Outline, p. 31.

† Σταῖς χώραις σκλάβοι κατοικοῦν, στοὺς κάμπους μὲ
τοὺς Τούρκους,

Χώρας λαγκάδια κ'ερημιαῖς ἔχουν τὰ παλληκάρια.

Song of Sterghios.

to abandon their title of Armatoli,* and, resuming their ancient epithet of Klephtes, united

* Like the pirates of the Ægean, in the early ages of Greece,† their name carried no disgrace with it. Leake's Outline, p. 33. Pouqueville (p. 236, vol. iv.) states that it was in 1560 that the mountaineers first received from the Turks the name of Klepthes. See also Fauriel, xliii. li. I have here endeavoured to mark the distinction between the Klephtes and Armatoli, the one being merely an independent band of the other. The terms were, in fact, perpetually alternating, the Greeks assuming each in turn as they embraced or abandoned the life of freebooters.‡ In some districts, an *Armatole* was either a submitted or a revolted warrior; and in others, (Thessaly, for instance,) a *Klepht* was indifferently used to designate both.§ It is necessary, however, to give a distinct classification to each,

† Thucydides, lib. i. May not the term *Levant* be derived from the title of these buccaneers, *Λεβαντες*?

‡ "Tantôt faibles et réduits à guerroyer dans les montagnes, tantôt assez forts pour reprendre de vive force l'Armatolike d'où on les avait chassés, leur passage de la condition d'Armatole à celle de Klephte, et réciproquement de celle-ci à la première, était si fréquent et si rapide, que les noms d'Armatole et de Klephte purent être pris presque indifféremment l'un pour l'autre, et que chacun put servir à designer deux conditions, sans doute très diverses, mais dont l'une tendait ou touchait perpétuellement à l'autre."—Fauriel, lii.

§ "Il y avait des localités où c'était le mot d'Armatole qui était ou pouvait être employé pour les deux choses. Dans d'autres, comme en Thessalie, c'était le mot de Klephte qui était en usage pour designer tant l'Armatole en paix à son poste de milicien, que le Klephte révolté dans les montagnes."—Ibid.

themselves by an oath of eternal fidelity and brotherhood,* and commenced a war of brigandage upon their tyrants and their emissaries. Surrounded by those whom hatred or fear had driven from their homes, each chieftain led his band of errant bravoës to some secure retreat, impervious to their enemies, which henceforth became their peculiar *limeri*, or halting-place;† and doubly armed by the stimulus of aversion and the hope of plunder, their exploits became as, though numbers of Greeks had been alternately both Armatoli and brigands,‡ there were others whose profession had never varied, but who continued till death in the band to which birth had attached them.

* “Tous juraient sur la croix de ne plus se quitter, et se qualifiaient désormais du nom de *frères adoptifs*, *frères de la croix*.” §—Rabbe, p. 104; Rizo, p. 50.

† The terms *Limeria* and *Klephtochoria* appear to be occasionally confounded. Thus, in the ballad of “Kitzos,” his mother, in apostrophising the river, exclaims that she is

‡ Thus, in the beautiful and graphic modern Greek ballad, “The Tomb of the Klepht,” the dying chieftain exclaims,

Τριάντα χρόνι' ἀρματαλός, κ' εἴκοσι ἔχω κλέφτης.

And again, in another lyric of Modern Greece,

Ἐς τὸν Λοῦρον, ὅς τὸ Ξερόμερον ἀρματαλός ἐστάθην,

Ἐς τὰ Χάσια καὶ ὅς τὸν Ὀλυμπον δώδεκα χρόνους κλέφτης.

“The Armatoli and Kleftes of Greece,” says Colonel Leake, (p. 33.) “differed only in the circumstances in which they were placed.”

§ Ἀδελφοποῖτοι, σταύραδελφοί. Pouqueville, iv. p. 241.

a ceaseless source of harassment and alarm to their lowland neighbours. The nature of their haunts, and the necessity of frequent concealment, rendered it imperative that their several bands should be composed of comparatively scanty numbers; and whilst those of the most celebrated capetani amounted to about one hundred pallikaris, those of the ordinary chieftains could seldom boast so many as even half that number.*

hasting to the retreat of the Klephts, which she designates by both epithets.

Ποτάμι, λιγύοτροψε, πατάμι στρέψ' ὀπίσω,
 Νὰ ἀπεράσ' ἀντίπερα, πέρα 'στὰ κλεφτοχώρια,
 'Ὅπ' ἔχουν κλέφτες σύνοδοι, ὅπ' ἔχουν τὰ λιμέρια.

Chants Pop. 16'. See also song 9 in the same collection.

* The principal stations of the Klephtes were in the hills of Etolia, those which separate Thessaly and Macedon, on the heights of Olympus,† and in the chains of mountains on the confines of Western Thessaly and Acarnania, known by the modern name of Agrafa. Of the warriors who have given

† Of all, those on Olympus were the most numerous and distinguished. Thus, in an allegorical lyric, containing an imaginary dispute between the two mountains, Ossa (now Kissaros) and Olympus; the latter, boasting of its warriors, says, "Am I not the eternal Olympus, renowned throughout the earth? I have forty woody summits, and three score and two fountains; and every fountain has its banner, and every waving branch its Klepht." Chants Populaires, vii.

Their costume was the same with that which they had borne during their subjection, with the exception of a cord wound repeatedly around them, and tied in front, destined, as they said, to bind their Turkish captives after victory. Their arms consisted of a yataghan,* a scimeter, a musket of unusual length,† and pistols, in the use of which they were expert to a miracle. It was a usual feat to strike at two hundred paces an egg suspended from a branch of a tree, and at the same distance a practised marksman would drive a ball through a ring of a diameter not greater than its own. Their quickness of sight, too, was unrivalled; and even during the night, when their expeditions were usually planned, a Klepht would seldom fail to send home his bullet to its mark. In those nocturnal engagements, their expression of

renown to these holds of freedom, the most celebrated in song are Boukavallos of Agrafa, Zidros of Alassona, to the south of Olympus, Makry Thanasses and Makrypoulo' of Kissavos, the ancient Parnassos, Zovara of Epirus, Karakitso of Phocis, and Androuzos, the father of that Ulysses whose name has been associated with the last revolution of his country. See Fauriel, *passim*; Rizo, Pouqueville, &c.

* A weapon of uncertain length, between a sword and a dagger, the handle in general richly ornamented.

† One of the most distinguished Klephts of the seventeenth century, Christos *Milionis*, received his surname from the possession of one of those fusils, *Χρῆστος ὁ Μηλιώτης*.

giving fire for fire,* denoted the action of taking a rapid and successful aim at their adversary from the flash of his own tophaic.

As to discipline or tactics, they had none beyond a due submission to their leader; and an adroitness in entrenching themselves behind some intervening object for personal security, a rock, a tree, a ruined wall, or even the body of a fallen foe; and from this retreat, their keen unerring aim dealt round inevitable and unsuspected destruction. The tortures to which they were submitted when captured by the Turks,† combined with an indomitable horror of submission,

* Fauriel. Φωτιάς ἰδὼσαν 'σ τὴν φωτιάς, κ' ἔπεσαν εἰς τὸν τόπον. Song of Christos Milionis.

† Next to their fear of being taken alive, was the dread of their remains being exposed to indignity from their enemies, who were accustomed to bear off the head or the hands as trophies of their victory. This feeling is finely illustrated in many of the Klephtic songs. In the beautiful ballad of Giptakis, (who was slain by Youseph, the Drinker of Blood, one of the Generals of Ali Pacha,) the dying chief exclaims to his brother,

Ποῦ εἶσαι, καλ' ἔμου ἀδελφε, καὶ πολλαγαπημένε;
Γύρισε πίσω, πάρε με, πάρε μου τὸ κεφάλι,
Νὰ μὴν τὸ πάρε' ἡ παγανιά, καὶ ὁ 'Ισοῦφ ἀράπης
Καὶ μοῦ το πάρε 'σ τὰ 'Ιάννινα τ' Ἀλλῇ πασαῖ τοῦ σκύλου.

Such, too, were the last exclamations of the modern Leonidas Marco Bozzaris,—“My brothers, let not my fall dishearten you—the victory is our own—*preserve my body!*”

taught them to dread in their warfare no fate so horrible as that of falling alive into the hands of their foes, and “*Καλὸν μολύβι!*” “a welcome bullet!” was the usual toast at their banquets, expressive of their preference of death to submission. A grave on the field of victory was their highest ambition; and whilst the bodies of those who perished by sickness or a lingering disease were contemplated with aversion and disgust, the remains of those who fell in battle were regarded with pride and satisfaction.*

Debarred from the possibility of subsisting by agriculture or commerce, the sole sustenance of the Klephts was of course derived from pillage and plunder; nor were they particularly conscientious in the selection of their intended victims, Greek and Islamite being visited by them with laudable impartiality. To the Cogia Bachis, and monks† of the former, they were peculiarly obnoxious, the monasteries of the one and the dwellings of the other being laid under frequent contributions. The Cadis and

* The latter they denominated *σφαγάρι*, or victims, the former *φορμί*, or wasted carcases.

† *Τ' εἶν, τὸ κακὸν ποῦ γίνεται τοῦτο τὸ καλοκαῖρι,*

Τρία χωριά μᾶς κλαίονται, τρία κεφαλοχάρια.

Μᾶς κλαίεται κ' ἓνας παπᾶς ἀπὸ τὸν Ἁγίον Πέτρον, κ.τ.λ.

Klephtic Ballad.

Beys of the Turks,* the wealthy primates and pampered prelates† of the plains, were time after

* In the ballad of Kilia Koudas, the Klepht is represented as feasting with his clan, and five captive Beys turning as many lambs on spits for their repast.

Ἔιχαν ἀρνιά καὶ ἔψαιναν, κριάρια σουβλισμένα·

Ἔιχαν καὶ πέντε μπέηδαις, ταῖς σούβλαις νὰ γυρίζουν.

And a passage in the song of Christos Millonis represents the hero as having made a descent upon Arta, and carried off prisoners the Cadi and two Agas.

————— Κ' ἐπῆγε πρὸς τὴν Ἄρταν.
Κεῖπρε σκλάβον τὸν κατῆν, μαζὶ με δυὸ Ἀγάδαις.

† Γράφουνε ‡ καὶ 'σ τὸ Κομπότι,
Προσκυνοῦν καὶ τὸν Δεσπότη.
“ Συλλογισθῆτέ το καλὰ,
’Οτι σᾶς καῖμε τὰ χωριά.
Γλῆγωρα τ’ ἀρματωλῆκι,
’Οτ’ ἐρχόμαστε σὰν λυκοί.”

To the prelates their aversion arose from their constantly uniting with the party in power, and betraying to the Turks the retreats and movements of the Klephts. Nor was their hostility displayed in measured modes of retaliation. “What misfortune has this summer brought forth?” says the ironical song of Zacharias: “three villages, three prosperous villages exclaim against us, and a priest likewise joins in the clamour, a priest of Agios Petros. And what have I done to the scoundrel § that he should lament? Is it because I have driven

‡ The Klephts of Valtos.

§ Κερατᾶ, a usual term of contempt.

time carried off to the mountains, and detained till ransomed by the payment of exorbitant sums. The cattle and herds of all were alike driven away to the hills ; and occasionally the mansions of their more oppressive tyrants were sacked to the walls, the Klephts destroying in the flames what they could not use or carry off.

On pressing emergencies, they have laid even whole towns and villages under contribution, and in event of resistance have attacked them with resistless numbers, and succeeded in enforcing their demands. On these occasions, it was usual to send an official message to the primate or pacha of the devoted district, specifying the sum required by the brigands, and naming a time and place for its payment ; a repetition of the demand was accompanied by a threat of vengeance in case of non-compliance ; and when it was requisite to reiterate the summons a third time, the premeditated vengeance of the freebooters was denoted by the paper being burnt to blackness at each of the corners. This trope of silent eloquence seldom failed in its intended effect ; and though submission on the part of the Greeks was generally followed by

off his oxen and sheep, because I have defiled his daughters and the wife of his son ? Is it because of his children I have murdered the one and made the other captive, and demand for his ransom five hundred pieces of gold ?”

vengeance on that of the Ottomans, who usually wrested what the former spared, the gold was in most instances forwarded to the appointed rendezvous.

In point of education, the Klephts were, of course, deplorably deficient;* their days were spent in their limeri solely in the pursuit of manly sports and the practice of athletic games, throwing the discus,† or practising at a target with their arms; literature, and the refinements of polished life, were alike unheard of and unvalued; and their only learning consisted in the traditionary ballads of their tribe, which recorded the valour and exploits of their forefathers. In personal agility their feats were almost beyond credibility; Niko Tsaras, one of their most renowned heroes, was said to have leaped over seven horses abreast,‡ and instances

* Amongst the chiefs of the Armatoli, education was in general strictly attended to as far as their country afforded opportunity. This, however, extended little beyond the acquisition of a little ancient Greek, and a knowledge of some of the European languages. The latter accomplishment was the sole path to eminence amongst the nobles of their nation, the Phanariots, and (through fashion perhaps) was sedulously cultivated, to the prejudice of other useful studies, by the Greeks. See Rizo, p. 245.

† Fauriel, lviii.

‡ “Il (Niko Tsaras) pouvait lutter de vitesse à la course avec un cheval, et en franchir d’un saut sept de front.”—Fauriel, p. 190.

were numerous in which a Klepht completely armed had outrun a charger at the acme of his speed.* Nor was their endurance of bodily pain less astonishing than their active energy. Inured to hunger, thirst, and watching, their enterprises were never impeded by considerations of personal suffering or protracted privations; and engagements without number are recorded, in which the Klephts have sustained the combat for three successive days and nights without resting, food, or slumber.†

* "La vitesse des Klephtes à la course était naturellement proportionnée à leur agilité au saut. On nomme des chefs de bande qui dans l'attirail et sous les poids de leur costume et de leurs armes égalaient ou surpassaient la vitesse ordinaire d'un cheval au galop. Le Capitaine Zacharias de Morée est cité pour l'un de ceux qui furent doués jusqu'au prodige de cette légèreté de pieds à la course. Les traditions rapportent en termes exprès, et sans intention d'hyperbole, que quand il courait, ses talons frappaient ses oreilles."—Fauriel, p. lix. It was an exploit similar to this which first recommended the late Ulysses to the notice of Ali Pacha.

† Niko Tsaras with his followers at the Bridge of Pravi.

Τρεῖς ἡμέραι κάμνει πόλεμον, τρεῖς ἡμέραι καὶ τρεῖς νύχταις
Χιὼν ἔτρωγαν, χιὼν ἔπιναν, καὶ τὴν φωτιάν βαστοῦσαν.

"Three days, three days and three nights they fought, they eat and they drank of the snow, whilst they sustained the incessant fire."

And again,

Τρεῖς ἡμέραι κάμνει πόλεμον, τρεῖς ἡμέραι καὶ τρεῖς νύχταις
Χωρὶς ψωμί, χωρὶς νερόν, χωρὶς ὕπνον ὅ τὸ μάτι.

The acutest torments inflicted on them by the Turks, when by chance they became their prisoners, could seldom elicit even a look of suffering; and death itself, accompanied by all its ingenious horrors, was looked upon as less terrific than the insults of slavery and the loss of freedom. Katzantonis, a name immortalized in his native hills, was one of five brothers, sons to a shepherd of Agrafa. The oppressions of Ali Pacha had by degrees despoiled his tribe of almost all their pastoral wealth, and, after reiterated injuries, compelled them to rise in arms against the tyrant. Katzantonis, burning with the flame of popular indignation, parted with the remnant of his flock, set fire to his cottage, and flying to the mountains, soon collected around him a band of braves, whose exploits were in succeeding years the terror of the Ottomans.

In person, their chieftain was diminutive and insignificant, but his lofty spirit rendered him at once the pride and the protection of his clan. His endurance, his courage, his promptitude, and his indomitable hatred of the Turks, pointed him out as an enemy worthy the prowess of Ali, and successively his bravest generals were dispatched against him. But his efforts to subdue him were in vain; force after force was baffled by the valour or ingenuity of Katzan-

tonis, and one by one the Ottoman chiefs returned disappointed or vanquished to Joannina. His skill in resources was no less remarkable than his intrepidity in action: on one occasion, when closely pursued by the Turks, he had retired to a strong-hold, which was accessible only by two narrow defiles, and on every other side was surrounded by savage and almost perpendicular precipices. Treachery led the Albanians to his retreat, and dividing themselves into two bodies, they had occupied both the passes ere the Klephts were aware of their approach. In this extremity, Katzantonis hit upon an instant expedient for their preservation. Cutting off with his sabre a strong branch of a fir-tree, he mounted astride upon its dense foliage, and launching it over the precipice, shot down into the valley with the rapidity of an arrow, followed in like manner by his Klephts, whilst the baffled Moslems stood upon the cliffs above to gaze in wonder at their astonishing descent.

At length, after a life of daring and danger, the Agrafiot Klepht was attacked by the small-pox at the island of Santa Maura, in 1807, and when the first paroxysm of his disorder had passed, he crossed over to the main-land, in the hope that his native air would restore him to strength. For some time he remained at a

monastery on Mount Pindus, but, dreading discovery, he retired with George, his youngest and favourite brother, to a cave near the monastery, where he was supplied with food by a woman sent for that purpose by the monks. Either by her, or the priests, he was here betrayed to the Turks; and whilst still feeble and emaciated by disease, the cave was on a sudden beset by a band of sixty Albanians.

George, aware of their danger, raised his brother on his shoulders, and attempted to fly with him to the hills: he passed the entrance of the cavern, having shot the first Albanian who had reached it, and succeeded in gaining a neighbouring forest. Here he was closely pursued, and laying down his burthen, he attacked and cut down the foremost of his followers, and snatching up his brother, he again turned to flight. Thus alternately halting and retreating, they were at last overpowered by numbers, and hurried off in chains to Joannina.

The punishment adjudged them by Ali was to have their limbs broken by blows of a sledgehammer; and the nephew of one of his generals who had fallen by the hand of Katzantonis was appointed their executioner. Broken down by disease and worn out with hardship, the spirit of the miserable chieftain was unable to sup-

port his torments, and he uttered some feeble and anguished moans, especially when the ponderous iron crushed the joints of his knees. His brother turned upon him a mingled look of pity and astonishment, and exclaimed, "What! Katzantonis, do you cry like a woman?" His own turn came next, and he lay without a groan, a look, or sound of agony, till every bone was broken from his loins to his feet.

It might naturally be supposed that men thus exposed to perpetual peril, hunted like wolves, and degraded even beneath the labouring cattle of the despots—men who had conquered every human appetite and suppressed every human passion, should be divested of natural feelings, and revel in cruelty and retaliative barbarism. Such, however, was by no means the case; to their foes their hostility was deadly and deathless, but its manifestations were never accompanied by needless suffering or ingenious torture. It was seldom that a Klepht would spare the life of a prostrate Moslem, but his fate was speedy, and a ball or a dagger put a rapid period to his agonies.* To their female captives their carriage was generous and soldierlike, and tradition tells of a chieftain who was murdered by his Palli-

* Fauriel, lxi.

karis for insulting a Turkish lady, whilst expecting her ransom.*

Their religion was marked by slight attention to external ceremonies or regard for priestly imposture; the bones of their warlike sires were more precious talismans in their eyes than the relics of lazy saints; and their oratory hallowed in a rock, or their altar raised in a secluded ravine, witnessed more sincere devotion, and more fervent outpourings of the soul, than ever arose amidst the clouds of perfume, the blaze of torches, and the glittering of sacerdotal

* The daughters and women of the Greek primates were frequently their prisoners, and these too were treated with delicacy and respect. "Skyllo Demos," says another beautiful ballad, "was feasting beneath the fir-trees, and beside him stood Irene to pour out his wine. 'To drink, my beautiful Irene, pour me out to drink, till daylight is dawning, till the star of the morning is risen, and the glittering pleiades have set, then shall I restore thee to thy dwelling, and ten of my warriors shall guard thee on the way.' 'Demos,' she haughtily replies, 'I am not thy slave, nor thy cup-bearer, but the daughter-in-law of a primate, and the child of an Archon.'"

"Belle ou difforme, jeune ou vieille, Musulmane ou Chrétienne, d'une famille inconnue ou d'une famille ennemie, chacune d'elles était un objet sacré pour tous les Klephtes de la bande qui l'avait enlevée. Le capitaine qui aurait osé lui manquer de respect, eût été sur le champ abandonné de ses pallikares, comme une homme à jamais deshonoré, et indigne de commander à des braves."—Fauriel, p. lxiii.

pageantry which decked the more pompous temples of their grovelling prelates.*

The charms of a life such as theirs are inconceivable to the civilized natives of a lower world ; like the Alpine hunter, their delights were local sensations, in which mankind in general could never sympathise, and whose recital is calculated to create amazement rather than congenial emotion. When, as it sometimes happened, they made a truce with their oppressors, and descended to the plains ; or when, as was usual, the severity of the winter drove them from their lofty fastnesses to the valleys below, they felt like strangers amidst their countrymen, and casting wistful glances to the snowy summits of the hills, they seemed longing to return to the freedom of their mountain homes. With their countrymen they were objects of the most intense admiration and respect ; their exploits were in every mouth, and when, during the inclemencies of an Albanian season, they were driven for shelter to the islands adjacent to the coast, or the districts under the

* Apostacy amongst the Greeks was not without some examples, especially when a victim could save his life by abjuring his religion ; but in no one instance has a Klepht been ever known to abandon the faith of his fathers, even for the preservation of his existence.

protection of Venice, they were followed by adulating crowds, all eager to catch a glimpse of a warrior with whose name were connected so many brilliant associations.*

In a political point of view, the existence of the Klephts has been of inestimable service to their country. In them has been preserved a portion of the martial spirit of their ancestors,† together with that love of freedom and yearning for independence which tyranny could never quench.‡ In the midst of outstretched corruption, they have continued as a remnant untainted by pollution; a relic of soundness in a scene of decay, which checks contempt for what it is, by pointing to what it has been, and might be.

Never did persecution more thoroughly counteract its own object than in its efforts to subdue them. The attempts of the Pachas in the early portion of the last century to root out the Armatoli, and replace them by Albanians, proved totally abortive, and only tended to

* I need not here point out the many similarities between the Klephts of Northern Greece and the brigands of Calabria, (themselves Greeks by origin): the coincidences in their manners, distinct costume, mode of life and warfare, and their connexion with their more peaceable fellow-countrymen, are obvious.

† Rizo, 54; Leake, 31.

‡ Rabbe, 105; Leake, 34.

swell the bands of freedom by driving fresh warriors to the hills. The posts thus deserted, were of course occupied by Moslems, but against the remainder their efforts were fruitless; they might for a time be triumphant and dispossess the native militia, but they retired only to return with renovated strength, and in turn expel their assailants.* Ali Pacha alone succeeded in overthrowing the Armatoliki, but it was only by driving these gallant defenders to rebellion and brigandage, or reducing the more corrupt of them by bribery or deception. His tyranny served to fan with double fury the flame of liberty, and towards the conclusion of his reign it might be said that every mountain in Greece was in arms. The sufferings of one victim called for the *joint* vengeance of his clan, and local injuries led to national retaliation. At the congress of Carpenise, in Etolia, convened by Ali in 1805, with the hope of concluding a truce between him and the captains of the Klephts, his foster-brother Yousseph, their most devoted foe, was astonished at the multitude of Pallikaris by whom each leader was accompanied. "How comes it," said he to a chieftain near him, "that for five successive years we have now been waging an

* *Patriel*, p. lxxii.

exterminating war against you, and your numbers are to-day more formidable than before hostilities commenced?"—"Do you see," replied Athanasio, whom he addressed, "those five young men at the head of my band? two of them are the brothers, two the cousins, and a fifth the friend of one of my clan whom you slew in combat; they are met to avenge the death of their kinsman and friend: give us but a few years more of war and persecution, and all Greece will be with us."*

The words of Athanasio are accomplished; the tyrant is laid low, the oppressors are overthrown, and the band of trampled and indignant minions have hurled to the earth that huge fabric of despotism, whose accumulation, like that of the Alpine avalanche, was to give the first impetus to its overthrow.

* Fauriel, lxxxii.

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